THE

SARACENS

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF BAGDAD

BY

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WITH MAPS, MANY ILLUSTRATIONS, A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, AND A LIST OF BOOKS TREATING THE SUBJECT

"I like the Mussulman; he is not ashamed of his God; his life is a fairly pure one."—GENERAL GORDON

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PREFACE.

WHEN the Greeks and Romans mentioned the tribes that ranged the deserts west of the Euphrates, they called them Saracens (*Σαρακηνοί*—Saraceni), a name of which no philologist has yet given the signification. Perhaps it meant "The People of the Desert," from the Arabic *sahra*, a desert; or, "The People of the East," from *sharq*, the rising sun.*

After this name had been used in an indefinite manner for all the unknown tribes of the desert, it was given to the followers of Mohammed; and it is used in that sense in the following pages, thus comprising many different nations, scattered at times from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

When Pierre Vattier, counsellor and physician to the Duke of Orleans, ventured, in the year 1657, to translate into French Elmacin's story of the kalifs, he thought it necessary to apologize to his polite readers for introducing to them a host of barbarians, enemies of the Christian faith. He argued well, however, that Frenchmen were accustomed to study

* It may be objected that it is improbable that the Arabs should have originated their own name in that way. It is possible that they might have called themselves "Sons of the Desert," but, certainly, they were not to themselves "The Eastern People."

with interest the history of Rome, which was a country of sworn enemies to the true religion, and that the kalifs would be found much more Christian, in their dealings with other nations, than the Roman emperors were.

One is no longer obliged thus to apologize for conducting any historical investigation, and we may study the career of the Saracens as one of the most interesting that the past can spread before us.

Though the present volume is mainly devoted to the period before the Crusades lent brilliancy to the subject, and does not include the thrilling narrative of the Moors in Spain, the greatest embarrassment of the author has arisen from the amplitude of the theme. The life of the founder of Islam has alone given rise to many volumes more extensive than this one is allowed to be; and the conquests of the roving tribes of Asia as they progressed westward, might well occupy more pages than are now at command. The author can only hope that he has not carried the process of condensation to a point that will deprive his most interesting story of the value that intrinsically belongs to it.

A. G.

CAMBRIDGE, September 6, 1886.

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CONTENTS.

I.

PAGE

HOW THE STORY BEGINS 1–13

The strange land south of Palestine, 1—The proud sons of the sands, 2—A change coming, 2—Rome and Persia, 3—Constantinople the Roman capital, 4—The Jews, 6—Arabian commerce, 7—Region of Petra and Mount Hor, 8—The queen of Sheba, 10—A visit to Solomon, 12—Solomon's wondrous ring, 13.

II.

CREATURES OF FIRE, LIGHT, AND CLAY . . . 14–21

Guesses at Arabian belief, 14—Jinns made of fire, 15—The Jinns rebel against Allah, 16—Angels made of pure light, 17—Eavesdroppers at the gates of heaven, 18—Doings of the Jinns, 19—Late conceptions of paradise, 19—The month Ramadan, 20.

III.

THE TIMES OF IGNORANCE 22–33

A pure white stone falls, 22—The Kaaba, 24—Traders between Palestine and Arabia, 25—Rome penetrates the mysterious land, 26—The position of Mecca, 28—Hejaz, the land of pilgrimage, 28—Kossai and the Koreish, 30—Rites of the pilgrimage, 31—Strife, 32—Abdalla born, 32.

IV.

THE YEAR OF THE ELEPHANT 34–40

Abraha of Abyssinia, 34—Taif directs him to Mecca, 35—Abd al Muttalib, 36—A miracle, 37—Abdalla's marriage with Amina, 38—Birth of a wonderful boy, 39—Mohammed, the praised one, 40.

V.

PAGE

THE SACRILEGIOUS WAR 41–49

Halima, the foster-mother, 41—Boy-life in the mountain wilds, 42—Mohammed an orphan, 43—Abu Talib interests his nephew in the worship of the Kaaba, 44—Mohammed goes to Syria with a caravan, 44—A boy without books, 46—Letters at Okatz, 47—War in holy time, 48—A victory of peace, 49.

VI.

THE CAMEL-DRIVER OF THE DESERT . . 50–58

Signs of good omen, 50—A group of Hanifs, 51—Seekers for good, 52—Mohammed's solitary days as a shepherd, 54—Kadija appears, 55—Mohammed's appearance, 55—Courtship and marriage, 57—A benediction, 58.

VII.

THE MAN OF AFFAIRS MEDITATES . . 59–67

Domestic peace, 59—Leisure for thought, 60—The faith of the Arabians, 62—Customs, 63—Mohammed as an anchorite, 63—Ecstasies and trances, 64—Powerful cries, 65—Mohammed's prestige growing, 66.

VIII.

THE MONTH RAMADAN 68–77

A change in the husband of Kadija, 68—The month of fasting and prayer, 70—The blessed night "al Kadar," 71—Gabriel appears, 72—"Cry, in the name of Allah!" 74—Thoughts of suicide, 75—Strong faith, 76—Abu Talib adheres to the faith of his ancestors, 77.

IX.

A PROPHET WITH LITTLE HONOR . . 78–86

The career of the prophet, 78—Idolatry to be overthrown, 79—Converts, 80—Revelations more frequent, 80—Islam, the revival of the faith of Abraham, 81—The Koran, 82—The Koreishites invited, 82—Ali called "kalif," 83—The Koreishites threaten, 84—Abu Talib's emotion, 85—The blind man, 86.

X.

PAGE

FUGITIVES IN A STRANGE LAND . . . 87–94

An explanation needed, 87—Policy of the enemy, 88—Fratricidal war imminent, 89—Yathrib warns against discord, 89—Hamza, the lion of Allah, 90—Mohammed tempted, 91—A rash act, 92—Emigration to Abyssinia, 93—Omar converted, 93—Mohammed under a ban, 94.

XI.

A TWOFOLD CORD BROKEN 95–101

A sad prophet, 95—Kadija dies, 96—Abu Talib dies, 96—A mission to Taif, 97—Discomfiture, 98—The Jinns listen, 99—Convert-pilgrims from Yathrib, 100—The first pledge of Akaba (pledge of the women), 101.

XII.

TO THE SEVENTH HEAVEN 102–111

Dreams and visions, 102—Mohammed's vision, 104—The Borak, 105—At the temple in Jerusalem, 106—In the seventh heaven, 108—The muezzin's call to prayer, 110—A change in Mohammed, 111.

XIII.

IN A CAVE 112–119

Confident but not aggressive, 112—The second meeting on the hill Akaba, 113—The second oath of Akaba, 115—"Depart to Medina!" 116—Anxious to start, 117—The Hejra, 118—Refuge in a cave, 119.

XIV.

THE YEAR ONE 120–128

Various chronologies, 120—Beginning of the Arabian era, 121—The three days in the cave, 122—Journeying to Yathrib, 123—Hope and fear on the way, 124—Arrival at Koba, 125—The triumphal entrance, 127—Parties at Yathrib, 127—Mohammed's difficult task, 128.

XV.

PAGE

ISLAM 129–137

A grand conception, 129—The simple doctrines, 130—The paradise, 131—A mixture of good and evil, 132—Differences in the length of the suras, 133—Evolution of Mohammed's claims, 134—The wondrous effect of the prophet's preaching, 135—Good traits of Islam, 136.

XVI.

THE SWORD IS DRAWN 138–150

Yathrib called Medina, 138—The national kibla, 139—The muezzin's call established, 140—The prophet's simple life, 141—A brotherhood formed, 142—The different Semitic prophets, 143—The Meccan caravans threatened, 144—Abu Sofian, 146—Angry passions rise, 147—Mecca alarmed, 148—Victory at Bedr, 149—Sorrow at Mecca, 150.

XVII.

VICTORY FOR MECCA 151–158

Change in the prophet's trust, 151—Secret assassination, 152—Battle of the mealsacks, 153—Mohammed girds on his armor, 154—The jagged flanks of Ohud, 156—Islam defeated, 157—Power of the prophet's eloquence, 158.

XVIII.

THE BATTLE OF THE DITCH 159–167

Breaking down the Jewish power, 159—Mohammed enamoured of Zeyd's wife, 160—Fatima marries Ali, 161—Rules for wives, 162—Estrangement from Ayesha, 162—The new style of warfare, 164—Allah said to have interfered, 165—Jews slaughtered, 166—An enchantment, 167.

XIX.

EXILES IN AN EMPTY CITY 168–177

Mohammed irritated, though strong, 168—An attempted pilgrimage, 169—Confronted by an enemy, 170—The pledge of the tree, 172—A disappointing "victory," 173—A signet ring

PAGE

engraved, 173—Jews of Keibar exiled, 175—The Moslems perform the pilgrimage, 176—Kalid and Amr converted, 177.

XX.

THE MOTHER OF CITIES CONQUERED . . 178–185

Mohammed's summons to the nations, 178—He opposes the empire, 179—A repulse, 180—An attempt upon Mecca, 182—Abbas joins Islam, 183—Mohammed enters Mecca, 184—Mercy of the conqueror, 185.

XXI.

HOW TAIF WAS BESIEGED AND TAKEN . 186–197

Taif alarmed, 186—A battle at Honein, 187—Taif besieged, 188—Mohammed mobbed at Medina, 189—Ibrahim born, 190—Christians send a deputation to Mohammed, 192—Taif still unconquered, 194—It surrenders, 195—An expedition against the Romans, 196—Is war over? 197.

XXII.

A FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE 198–207

Idolaters cowed, 198—They are to be killed, 199—The prophet's power increasing, 200—He makes a progress to Mecca, 201—A sermon in the mosque, 202—Rivals appear, 203—Osama, son of Zeyd, sent against the Romans, 204—The prophet's end approaching, 205—Last words, 206—Death, 207.

XXIII.

THE FIRST SUCCESSOR 208–217

Feelings of the people on the death of Mohammed, 208—His form and behavior, 210—His system, 211—His reforms, 212—His idea of God, 213—He was not an impostor, 214—Sadness in Medina, 215—Abu Bekr chosen kalif, 216—His policy foreshadowed, 217.

XXIV.

PAGE

CAN ISLAM BE SHAKEN OFF? . . . 218–225

Who was Abu Bekr? 218—Claims of others on the office of kalif, 219—Ali's "right," 220—Nedj wants to pray but not pay tribute, 221—The kalif's reliance upon Kalid, 222—The rivals defeated, 223—The Koran in danger of being lost, 224—Islam not to be shaken off, 225.

XXV.

REACHING OUT TO CHALDEA AND BABYLONIA, 226–232

The dependence of despots upon war, 226—Mesopotamia attracts the Moslems, 227—Kalid offers the Persians Islam, or death, 228—Bloody battles, 229—Campaigns against the Romans in Syria, 230—The struggle at Wacusa, 231—Abu Bekr dies, 232.

XXVI.

PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA CONQUERED, . 233–241

Great changes coming, 233—Omar's policy, 234—Mesopotamia conquered, 235—The strugle at Kadesia, 236—Kufa and Bassora hotbeds of faction, 238—The attempt upon Damascus, 239—Its success, 240—All of Central Syria conquered, 241.

XXVII.

JERUSALEM CAPTURED 242–250

Courage and ambition increasing, 242—Aleppo ingloriously gives up, 243—Jews expelled, 245—Campaign of Amr in Palestine, 246—Omar goes to Jerusalem, 248—Terms made at Jerusalem, 249—Omar enters the city, 250.

XXVIII.

HOW EGYPT AND PERSIA WERE CONQUERED, 251–262

Omar founds a mosque and returns, 251—The Romans routed by the Moslems, 252—The year of plague and drought, 253—Amr's campaign in Egypt, 254—Fostat founded, 254—Yezdegird overcome, 256–258—The era of the Hejra established, 260—Omar's assassination, 261.

XXIX.

PAGE

FAVORITISM AND INTRIGUE . . . 263–271

The golden age passed, 263—Wrangling between rival factions, 264—Tabular view of the genealogy of the kalifs, 265—Character of Othman, 266—Rebellions in Persia, 267—Unhappy choice of governors, 268—The kalifate undermined by conspirators, 269—Othman insulted, 270—Assassination of the kalif, 271.

XXX.

THE MISFORTUNES OF ALI, FATHER OF HASAN, 272–287

A gloomy outlook, 272—Ali becomes kalif, 273—Mecca a centre of intrigue, 274—Ayesha goes to Bassora, 275—An appeal to Kufa, 276—The day of the camel, 277—Victory for Ali, 278—Moawia enters the struggle, 279—The battle at Siffin, 280—Moawia gains the advantage, 281—The Karejites, 282—Moawia enters Bassora, 284—Desperate Karejites conspire, 285—Character of Ali, 286—Moawia kalif, 287.

XXXI.

THE TRAGEDY OF MOHARREM . . . 288–307

Damascus becomes the capital, 288—Ziyad becomes a supporter of Moawia, 290—Obeidalla, 291—The first attempt upon Constantinople, 292—A treaty, 293—Advances in Africa, 294—Yezid made heir-apparent, 295—Moawia's last counsels, 296—Death and character of Moawia, 297—Hosein called to the kalifate, 298—Yezid opposes him, 301—Death of Hosein at Kerbala, 303—The commemoration of the event, 304—Abdalla rises at Medina, 305—Mecca besieged, 306—An opportunity lost, 307.

XXXII.

THE VICTORIES OF ABD EL MELIK . . 308–320

Importance of the death of Hosein, 308—More trouble with the Karejites, 310—Abd el Melik comes to the throne, 311—Moktar, 311—A division of the kalifate, 312—Musab slain,

PAGE

313—Gruesome transactions, 314—Bloody Hejaj, 315—Wasit founded, 316—Karejites rise again, 317—The Berbers overcome, 318—Letters encouraged, 320.

XXXIII.

THE GLORY OF THE OMIADES . . . 321–333

Walid kalif, 321—Conquest and luxury, 322—Musa in Africa, 324—Roderick, the last of the Goths, 325—Count Julian's treachery, 326—Tarik and Tarif, 328—Roderick, killed, 329—Spain conquered, 330—Musa's magnificent plan, 332—The fall of Musa and Tarik, 333.

XXXIV.

THE STROKE OF THE HAMMER . . 334–346

The glories of the Omiades passed, 334—Musa's report, 335—A defeat at Constantinople, 336—Another reverse, 337—Invasion of France, 338—Fury of the Saracens, 339—Grasping governors, 340—The battle near Tours, 341—Charles Martel victor, 342—The mysterious Kazars, 345.

XXXV.

THE BLACK FLAG OF ABBAS . . . 347–353

Years of civil war, 347—Rise of the Abbassides, 348—A deceptive peace, 349—Conspirators at Merv, 350—A decisive battle on the Zab, 351—Destruction of the Omiades, 352—A plan to establish a dynasty, 353.

XXXVI.

BY BAGDAD'S SHRINES 354–365

A pilgrimage to Mecca, 354—Muslim at Nisibis, 355—Rise of the Rawendites, 356—Bagdad founded, 357—The Barmecides appear, 358—Hopes of the Alyites cast down, 359—Death of Mansur, 360—A luxurious pilgrimage, 361—The veiled prophet of Korassan, 362—Luxury weakens the kalifate, 363—Constantinople pays tribute, 364—Rise of Freethinkers, 365.

XXXVII.

PAGE

AARON THE ORTHODOX 366–377

A brilliant period, 366—The Bagdad of story, 367—Art and letters flourish, 368—Correspondence with the emperor, 370—Fall of the Barmecides, 371—The orthodoxy of Harun, 372—Revolt in Korassan, 373—Death of Harun, 374—Persians and Arabs jealous, 375—A fratricidal strife, 376—Mamun proclaimed, 377.

XXXVIII.

GOLD AND DROSS 378–389

Fadhl the prime-minister, 378—Anarchy in Bagdad, 379—A sop to the Alyites, 380—Mamun acts vigorously, 381—Dissimulation, 382—Persian influence grows stronger, 383—Rationalism, 384—The nature of the Koran discussed, 385—A war for a philosopher, 386—Death of Mamun, 387—His encouragement of science and art, 388—His toleration, 389.

XXXIX.

GLIMMERINGS AND DECAYS 390–403

The orthodox persecuted, 390—Babek and his sect, 391—War with the empire, 392—The Turks advanced in the kalifate, 394—Persecutions of Moslems and Christians, 395—Turks almost masters of the government, 396—A great palace at Samarra, 398—Motawakkel assassinated, 399—The Turkish body-guard supreme, 400—Enthusiasm for war a thing of the past, 401—Wathek exalts the Koran again, 402—Primitive principles, 403.

XL.

THE GRIP OF THE TURK TIGHTENS . . . 404–422

The Taherites of Korassan, 404—The Soffarides, 405—The Tulunides, 406—The Alyites, 407—The Karmathians, 408—Rise of the Samanades, 408—Amr, brother of Yakub, meets a ludicrous mischance, 409—End of the Soffarides, 410—The Karmathians give trouble in Syria, 411—A young kalif, 412—The Fatimites in Africa, 413—Expectation of a mahdi,

PAGE

414—An embassy from Constantinople, 416—Oriental magnificence, 418—The Karmathians in Syria, 420—Terror in Bagdad, 421—Moktader murdered, 422.

XLI.

THE FATAL BLOW 423–442

The germs of decay, 423—Strong helpers become masters, 424—Kaher deposed, 425—The Buvides from Persia, 426—The fall of Radi, 427—The power of the kalifs lost, 428—The princes of princes supreme, 429—The Fatimites once more, 430—Letters flourish again, 431—The Gaznivides and Seljuks, 432—The Old Man of the Mountains, 434—A glimpse of Bagdad, 436—Jengis Kahn, 440—Hulaku captures Bagdad, 441—The frightful end, 441.

NÖLDEKE'S ORDER OF THE SURAS OF THE KORAN . 443

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, A.D. 565–1261 . . 445

LIST OF BOOKS USED IN PREPARING THE STORY OF THE SARACENS 451

INDEX 471

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BIBLIOTHEK MUENCHEN

THE STORY OF THE SARACENS.

I.

HOW THE STORY BEGINS.

EAST of the Red Sea, and just south of Palestine, there lies a strange land, belonging, we sometimes think, neither to Europe, nor to Asia, nor to Africa. Its rocky borders are washed by water on three sides, while on the fourth there lies a sandy desert of such little importance that men hardly care to own it, and no boundary line is drawn to show where one nation's possessions end and the territory of the next neighbor begins. Sandy and rocky, almost without rivers or lakes, except in favored regions, with a great part entirely unknown, save, perhaps, to a few lonely wanderers or enthusiastic travellers, who have ventured to explore its barren wastes, this land was, at the time of which we write, strange to all the world. Roman and Macedonian, Jew and Gentile, had wandered around it; but no nation cared to inquire what secrets lay hidden in its broad and treacherous deserts. The haughty inhabitants looked back through many generations and assured each other

that they were the ancient ones,—that they had Adam and Noah and Abraham and Ishmael for their fathers, and they cared as little for the rest of the world as the rest of the world cared for them.

For how many generations these peculiar sons of the sands had lived in their primitive simplicity; for how many centuries they had fought the terrible simoons, and had carried their small merchandise over the deserts in a venerable commerce; for what length of time they had dwelt in tents, feeding their dusky children with the dates and tamarinds that clustered on the branches which shaded them from the tropical sun, we cannot tell. They had no books, and their traditions were so evidently framed to bolster up a national pride that we cannot depend upon them as truth.

At the time at which our story begins a change was about to come over this strange people; they were to be known of all men. They were no longer to be simply mysterious sons of the desert, but something more. Mystery was certainly to be always about them, but they were to have dealings with men which were destined to carry their name and their fame to all lands and to the end of time.

It is to this people that the story of the Saracens calls us. It carries us back to a period several centuries before the Norman invasion of England; to a time when our ancestors were bowing their heads to Woden; but it introduces us to quite a different world,—it shows us a Semitic instead of an Aryan type of social life. It interests us, people of another race of humanity, for the reason that it is new.

Hundreds of years before our story begins Greece had fallen before Alexander, and Rome had become master of it and of Macedonia too. Rome had passed through its age of myth, its heroic and its golden ages,—had been a kingdom, a republic, and an empire by turns, and at last, after all its conquests, had been humbled by the army of barbarians which poured into it from the land of the Hyperboreans. For two hundred years, indeed, she had mourned the ruin wrought by Alaric, Attila, and Genseric; and now the very sceptre had been removed from the Tiber to the Bosphorus. There, on the shores of the Golden Horn, the emperor of Constantinople stood over against the king of Persia, dividing, as he thought, the empire of the earth with him, and ever and anon making incursion into his territories. Thus was continued a struggle which lasted seven centuries; as Gibbon says,—"from the death of Crassus to the reign of Heraclius,"—the emperor hoping that some day he might grasp the whole vast realm of Chosroes and sit monarch in his very palace.

One day, when forced to flee from his own kingdom, a Chosroes found asylum in the dominions of the Emperor Maurice; but the kind treatment he received did not insure peace. When the hospitable Maurice was killed by a usurper (A. D. 602), the Persian pretended a desire to avenge the crime, and the next year entered upon the most deadly war that was waged between the two peoples. After the fighting had been going on a few years, Heraclius overcame the usurper Phocas, put him to death, and gracefully yielded to the popular entreaties that he

should assume the purple (A. D. 610). He then took up the war with Chosroes, ventured far into the Persian country, won a decisive victory at Nineveh on the river Tigris (A. D. 627), forced the Persian king to flight, and celebrated triumphs both at Constantinople and Jerusalem.*

Before this time Europe had been overrun by the Huns, who, for a while, fed their flocks on the pasture-lands of Southern Russia, in Poland, and in Hungary; the Vandals, the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks had also formed a portion of the seething mass of fierce humanity which had surged through the regions watered by the Rhone, the Rhine, the Seine, the Danube, the Po, and the Dnieper.

The sovereign who held his seat at Constantinople was not a Greek emperor; the Roman power had simply been joined to that of the East at the time (A. D. 476) when it is customary to say that the Western empire "fell." Our story will bring us also into contact with the hordes of shifting tribes that had been for generations, all unknown to other peoples, strengthening their sinews and increasing their numbers on the northern plains of Asia, and throughout the mountains and valleys of Turkestan, and the regions beyond.

* It is to be remarked that at the moment when Heraclius was enjoying these triumphs his troops were cut to pieces at a small town in Southern Syria by some Saracens (see chap. xx.); and that when, in 711, the dynasty which he established was extinguished at Constantinople, the then insignificant Arabian tribe ruled from Damascus its most extensive dominions (see chap. xxxiii.). For an interesting account of the relations between Heraclius and Chosroes II., see Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chapter xlvi.

In the Bible, we have the history of a nation that dwelt quite near the people of whom we are writing. The Jews of Palestine were curiously connected with the men of the deserts, and yet, in most respects, they were strangely separate in their business, their religion, and their lives. Through Ishmael, the Saracens looked back to the same ancestors, and many among the inhabitants of the Arabian deserts worshipped the God of Abraham; yet the religious faith and customs of the larger number of them were very different, though their habits of life were in many respects the same. In early times, people of influence from among the "Scriptural People," the "People of the Book," as the Jews were called by the Arabians, had left their homes in Palestine to find new ones in the city of Yathrib, the Medina of after-times. In the sixth century of our era, a whole tribe living in the far south of Arabia had been led to give its allegiance to the faith of the children of Israel, and, according to their strange traditions, the people of the deserts between that region and Palestine had seen a sight, a thousand years before Christ, the story of which impressed the People of the Book very deeply upon the Arabians all along the shores of the Red Sea.

The land of the Saracens lies four square, and comprises a territory about eight times as large as the islands of Great Britain. On its western coast roll the waters of the Red Sea; to the South is the Indian Ocean, which sweeps also along the western coasts of India and distant Australia; on the east are the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, and the Tigris;

while on the north is a broad belt, over which the wild sands whirl and drive eternally. The outside border of this great territory is the only portion which, so far as we certainly know, is generally inhabited. Towards the middle country the land rises, and there vast table-lands and lofty mountains frown upon all attempts at colonization.* In a riverless land, water is scarce, and wherever a spring rises to the surface to refresh the parched earth the inhabitant rejoices and pitches his tent with thankfulness. In imitation of the Greeks, we call such a green spot an oasis, but it is better named a wady, which is, in the mind of an Arab, a place watered by a river or a spring that is likely at any time to sink from sight.

In our day commerce finds that broad continents are not so favorable for the transportation of merchandise as boisterous oceans; but it was not always so, and in the early days, when ships were small and compasses were not known, goods were sent from country to country across the deserts. In the land of the Saracens they were carried from wady to wady, the merchants finding grass for their beasts and shade for themselves at those green spots that were watered by springs or brooks. The unwieldy camel was the beast upon which the burdens were carried, and it was able to plod over the sands with its freight at the rate of some sixteen miles a day. Patiently it bore its rider in the face of the pitiless

* The table-lands lying between Yemen on the south, Hejaz on the west, and Irak on the northeast, are known as Nejd. According to Palgrave, the name signifies "highlands." See "A Pilgrimage to Nejd," by Lady Anne Blunt, pp. xviii.–xxvii. Hejaz is the region about Mecca and Medina.

simoon, and under the heat of the burning sun, enabling him to traverse vast stretches of territory, and to exchange the myrrh, frankincense, gold, and precious stones of Saba and Ophir * for the purple of Tyre and the sword-blades of Damascus. The long lines of camels and horses would sometimes journey from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the eastward, skirting the Persian Gulf, and would bring their weary march to an end on the banks of the Tigris. On other occasions they would start to the north, and, halting from day to day in a succession of convenient wadies by the side of the Red Sea, they would make the acquaintance of a different sort of semitic civilization from their own in the borders of Palestine. By this route they would pass very near to wondrous Petra, and to Mount Hor, on the top of which Aaron, brother of Moses, breathed his last.

Yemen was the name of the southern portion of Arabia, but the Greeks called it Happy Arabia, on account of the fertility. Saba was the name of a city there of great importance in early times. In that region Joktan, the mythical great-grandson of Noah's son Shem, became father of a people living in rich and populous cities of commercial importance. A thousand years before Christ the rich King Solomon was reigning at Jerusalem, and wondrous were the stories told about him,—stories that travellers slowly carried along the shores of the Red Sea, so tradition asserts, until they got quite down to the Indian Ocean, where they reached the ears of Balkis,

* It is not necessary to enter upon the vexed question of the geographical position of Ophir; it *may* have been in Arabia.

the queen in Saba.* Her people were Sabeans; they stood on their rich wadies and on their lonely sands, and gazed up to heaven in wonder, as the stars, the sun, and the moon shone out upon them, and they thought that such bright lights must be gods. Then they bowed their heads and worshipped the hosts of heaven.

The queen of Saba (we still follow tradition) meditated upon the wonders that travellers told of the great northern king, and in spite of the threescore and more of stages that the camels would have to make before reaching that far-off land, she determined to go herself and see and hear what Solomon could do and say. It was no small labor to prepare for such a journey. It would take but a few days to accomplish the distance in our country, but there and at that time circumstances were different. The queen was going to visit a powerful potentate; the richest, the wisest of whom she had ever heard; a king so great, indeed, that even her wildest Arabian

* The capital of Yemen, the seat of the Himyaritic dynasty to which the queen of Saba is said to have belonged, was Mareb, two days' journey northeast of a city called Sana, and great numbers of finely cut stones, inscriptions, coins, and jewels still give evidence that a city of importance once stood there. Balkis is represented to have been descended from one Afrikis, who, according to tradition, gathered the remnants of the Amalekites after Joshua overthrew that people, and led them to the other side of the Red Sea, where they multiplied and were known from their barbarous dialect as Berbers. Magreb (western), the country in which legend makes this mixed people to have settled, may be said to have extended from the Red Sea to the Atlantic. See Caussin de Perceval, "*Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*," vol. i., pp. 67, 75–77, etc. De Slane's "*Histoire des Berberes*," vol. i., pp. 168, 186.

imagination could not depict his glories. She could not take a camel and start off alone; she would be obliged to take many camels, and scores of men, besides numbers of women to attend upon her, and she was obliged also, according to the customs of her country, to take rich presents to offer to the great king.

Let us imagine her starting from the city of the sons of Joktan with her long train of camels and their drivers; with their tents for covering by night as she encamped in the wadies by the way, and with her precious gifts. Day after day we follow her, and night after night we see her resting beneath the clear and cloudless sky of that wondrous land. A week passes, and she has but begun her tedious journey; still the train pushes forwards. Another week passes and another and another; seventy days and more she holds persistently to her purpose. She had travelled as long as Columbus took to cross the broad Atlantic.

At last the gilded turrets of the temple come in sight, and in time the curious queen is in the presence of the wise king. She connects his name with a knowledge of the great Jehovah, and she brings hard questions for him to answer, such, perhaps, we imagine, as those which Job and his friends discussed in their truly Arabian manner. Probably she asked him to solve riddles, for her people loved such sportive queries; but surely she had besides more serious matters about which to speak, for she talked "of all that was in her heart"; and she listened in admiration to Solomon's words, confessing

that in spite of the exaggerations of travellers, the half of what she saw and heard had not been carried to her far-away land.*

No wonder that stories of Solomon increased in number and in marvellousness in the land of Joktan's sons; no wonder that he was there said to wear a ring by means of which he could get any information that he wanted; no wonder that it was believed that his temple was the foundation of all architectural knowledge, and that he was himself thought to effect his wonders through the agency of the jinns, or genii, inhabitants of the mountain of Kaf in Jinnestan or fairyland, over which he was said to have had complete sway. No wonder that the people of Arabia, from Saba to the northern deserts, naturally looked upon Palestine as a land of a civilization far beyond theirs, and willingly received legends and religious inspiration from its people.

* An account of this legendary visit of the queen of Sheba to Solomon is to be found in the Koran, the Arabian Bible (Sura xxvii.). The word Koran means "reading," and a sura is a chapter, a continuous portion, like a brick in its course in a wall.

II.

CREATURES OF FIRE, LIGHT, AND CLAY.

THE Arabs were an imaginative people; they lived in a wonderful land, and they found something strange wherever they looked; were it into the clear blue of the starlit heaven, or over the desert, often startlingly illuminated by the marvellous mirage; they saw a fairy, a ghost, a goblin, a spook, a genius of some sort in the rock and the flower, in the tree and the stream,—everywhere they felt that supernatural agents were above and around them. Out of this nature grew up in process of time a mythology,—out of the nature of this active, meditative, enthusiastic, deep-hearted people, these Frenchmen of the East. At what times it was put into the form in which it appears to us, and how much of it was known in the earliest days, we are not able to determine. One of the most thorough students says,* that we can but guess at the state of the Arabian belief in those days, but that "from what broken light is shed by a few forlorn rays, we may conclude this, that they worshipped, to use that vague word, the Hosts of Heaven"; that others seemed to have ascribed every thing to nature, and that some worshipped

* Emanuel Deutsch, in the London *Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1869.

stones and other fetiches; while the Phantoms of the Desert, the Fata Morgana, angels and demons and the rest of embodied ideas or ideals, formed other objects of pious consideration.

Two thousand years before Adam was created, according to the stories of the myth-makers of this people, Allah made a different order of beings from man. They were known as jinns; and were not formed of clay, but of pure fire unmixed with smoke. They moved from place to place without being seen; they loved and married; they had children and they died, just as the creatures of clay did and still do. Some of them were good and some bad; and they were divided into classes in respect to other traits. Some of them haunted ruins, and markets and cross-roads; some dwelt in rivers and oceans; and some were found in baths and wells; but their chief resort was a mysterious mountain named Kaf, which, in the imagination of the Arabs, was founded upon an immense emerald and encircled the world, so that indeed the sun rose and went down behind it. When they wished to speak of the entire earth, they said "from Kaf to Kaf." It was this emerald, they thought, which gave its azure tint to the sun's rays; it surrounded the earth as a ring surrounds a finger, and, in some way that we do not understand, it was connected with the earthquakes which, in accordance with the orders of Allah, shook Arabia.

All the jinns were once good, and had their laws, prophets, religion, and regular government; but long before the time of Adam, they became uneasy under

a monotonous and regular life, and tried to overturn the original condition of things. They rebelled against the prophets, who, we must remember, were not persons who foretold future events, but, like those of their neighbors, the Jews, were preachers, and expounders of the will of heaven. Allah sent against them legions of creatures who were still more spiritual than they, angels, who had been created not from clay, not even from smokeless fire, but from pure light. Was it not a bright thought of some one in those early ages, that of peopling space with such creatures as these, made of fire and light?

Well, the angels went forth and made consternation among the jinns, scattering them to the islands and mountains, and to all sorts of out-of-the-way places, but also capturing many of them. The evil jinns were known by several names, one of which was Ifreet or Efreet. Some accounts says that one of those that the angels frightened became an angel himself, and was named Azazil, or Iblis; but no one knows what the original belief was, and it is well enough for us to think of Iblis as at first an angel who rebelled against Allah, at the time of the creation of Adam, and became an evil demon corresponding with our idea of Satan. Like Satan, he was proud in his first estate, and was called the Peacock of the angels.

When an Arabian whirlwind was seen carrying sand and dust over field and desert, it was said that some evil jinn was riding forth with sinister intent, and the beholder was wont to cry out: "Iron! Iron! thou unlucky!" for the jinns were cowed by the fear

of iron; or they exclaimed: "Allah is most great!" as if thinking that Allah, thus complimented, would protect them from the threatened harm. So when they ventured to sea in their little boats, and saw a waterspout, they thought that a jinn was abroad, against whom they needed protection.

The angels were deemed quite different from jinns; they never disobey Allah, nor are they troubled by the bad passions that stir jinns, and, it must be confessed, stir men, also; some did join in the rebellion against Allah, but since that time all find their food in celebrating his glory, their drink in proclaiming his holiness, and their pleasure in his worship. They were supposed to have different forms; but as they are made of pure light, it would of course, take sharper eyes than those of the creatures of clay to tell what their beautiful shapes are. Four are archangels: Gabriel, the faithful spirit, who reveals the will of Allah; Michael, guardian of the Jews; Azrael, the angel of death; and Israfil, the angel of the trumpet, who is at the end of the world to blow a blast which will kill all creatures, and another which will raise them all for judgment.

One angel was supposed to stand ever at the right side of each man to record his good deeds, and another at his left to write down his evil acts. At every man's death Nakir and Munkir, two of the creatures of light, examine him in his grave concerning his faith. If he acknowledge Allah to be the one God, they permit him to rest in peace, but otherwise they pound and beat him until he roars so loudly that he is heard, by all but men and jinns, from Kaf to Kaf!

Men were thought to be not entirely at the mercy of the jinns, but were permitted to command their services. and even to gain from them some information of future events through the medium of certain invocations and talismans. One would think that jinns could not know any more about the future than ordinary mortals, but we are told that they were eavesdroppers at the gates of heaven, and thus gained a great deal of information about the doings of the angels and the plans of Allah. Up to the time of the birth of Jesus, so they say, they were allowed to enter any of the seven heavens, but after that they were excluded from three of them, and after the birth of Mohammed they were forbidden the other four; still, however, as they go as near the lowest heaven as possible, they glean a great deal that men cannot learn. When the Arabians saw bright shooting-stars in the sky, they were wont to say that the angels were driving these inquisitive jinns from their positions near the gates of the lowest heaven.

Solomon's seal-ring by which he was supposed to control the jinns, was said to have been sent to him from heaven. It was of iron and brass, and had engraven on it the name of Allah. When he sent a command to the good jinns, he stamped the letter with the brass, and when the order was intended for the evil ones, it bore the imprint of the iron, for the reason that has been mentioned. By the power he possessed over the jinns he forced them to assist in building the temple at Jerusalem, and in many of the other great works of his reign. The marvellous ring

gave him power also over winds, over birds, and even over wild beasts. It is mentioned in the "Arabian Nights," in the tale of the fisherman and the jinn, or genii. It was truly a wondrous ring. By it the rich owner converted many evil jinns to the true faith, and confined others in strong prisons because they would not yield. It were well if other mortals could have owned such a ring, for the evil jinns worked a great many wrongs upon men. They carried off beautiful women; they went upon roofs and threw bricks and stones down upon passers-by, they stole provisions, they haunted empty houses, some of them, called ghouls, ate men and made their homes in graveyards, and they did many other diabolical acts.

Though we cannot tell at what time the different portions of this weird mythology were taken up, we know that the belief in jinns was an original portion of it, though it is equally evident also that the heaven of the Arabian imagination was a creation of after-times. Mohammed conceived Paradise to be a place where all the enjoyments grateful to dwellers in a hot and barren land,—shade, rest, water, fruit, companionship, and service,—were perennially furnished to the faithful. Allah is the ruler there: he is eternal and everlasting, without form or limit, including every thing and included by nothing; he is invoked under ninety-nine attributes which represent him as merciful and glorious, exalted and righteous; the guardian and judge, the creator and the provider.

Heaven was to him in its seven-fold division, the Garden of Beauty, the Abode of Peace, the Abode

of Rest, the Garden of Eden, the Garden of Resort, the Garden of Pleasure, the Garden of the Most High, and the Garden of Paradise.* Hell was likewise divided into seven parts: Gehenna, the Flaming Fire, the Raging Fire that splits every thing to pieces, the Blaze, the Scorching Fire, the Fierce Fire, and finally the Abyss. In the first hell wicked Islamites were confined temporarily; in the second are the Jews; in the third the Christians; in the fourth the Sabeans; in the fifth the Magians; in the sixth the idol-worshippers; and in the bottommost, hypocrites who have falsely professed some religion. This hell in all its departments was a place which men accustomed to the trials of a hot country would consider an abode of direst misery.

The ninth month of the Arabian year, called Ramadan, is and was held to be a sort of Lent, during the entire duration of which it was a sacred duty to fast from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same; but when its setting was announced, all restrictions were off, and the hungry and thirsty hastened to eat and drink to full content. During the day they would even hold the hand before the mouth should they chance to pass in the street a man smoking, lest a whiff of the forbidden fragrance should pollute them; but when it was too dark to distinguish a white thread from a black, they might unrestrictedly enjoy their pipes. Some, of course, did not observe this month with the religious faith that others held, and some looked at it in the spirit

* The Jewish rabbis likewise taught that there were seven heavens.

of the Magians, with whom it was a spell. There were not lacking those, however, who sought the quiet of spots remote from the busy haunts of men, and communed with their thoughts as they looked towards the abode of Allah.

III.

THE TIMES OF IGNORANCE.

WHEN Adam fell from Paradise, so the stories of the East tell us, there fell also a pure white stone, which, through all the ages, has been kept with religious care, and worshipped as something pure and holy. As stones do sometimes fall from the heavens, it may well be that this one so fell in the early days when men knew nothing about aërolites, and at such a period they would naturally have given it reverence. We can trace this particular stone to a time long before the birth of Christ; and Diodorus, the Sicilian, a writer of the golden age of Rome, who made it the business of his life to get accurate information about all nations, said that it existed in his days, was then most ancient, and was revered exceedingly by the whole Arab race.

We remember that when Jacob dreamed his wonderful dream, he set up a stone in commemoration of the event, on the top of which he poured oil, and that he called the placed "Beth-El," or the House of God. The Arabs also call the place where their precious stone is, the House of Allah, and they seem to worship the shapeless mass, as Jacob did not. It was, in fact, not at all uncommon in the early times

for the Arabs to bow down to misshapen stones; but this one became the most noted and at last the only one remembered. It did not remain white, and is now of a reddish-brown color, either because it has wept so much for the sins of the world, as its worshippers aver, or because it has been handled and kissed for so many hundred years. It is worn and broken, and bound together by silver bands, and is often described as black, so begrimed has it become.

The sacred stone is embedded in the walls of a building, known as the Kaaba, or Cube, around which a mosque has been built, which includes, besides the Kaaba, a well, called from the purling sound of its gently gurgling waters, Zem-zem. It is related that when Hagar was sent into the desert by Father Abraham, she laid little Ishmael down on the sand (though *we* think that he was a young man of some sixteen years), and that, as he threw his limbs about, he discovered the spring, which afterwards afforded refeshment to both him and his mother. They say that Seth, son of Adam, had built the Kaaba there, but that the deluge had washed it away. When Ishmael became a man, and had married a princess of the land, he undertook the pious work of rebuilding the holy house. In this he was assisted by his father, Abraham, who was directed by the angel Gabriel, sent from heaven for the express purpose. The angel discovered the sacred stone, which had been hidden by the slime left after the flood.

The period to which all these remarkable events are relegated by the Arabians, they well call the Times of Ignorance, and utterly improbable as we

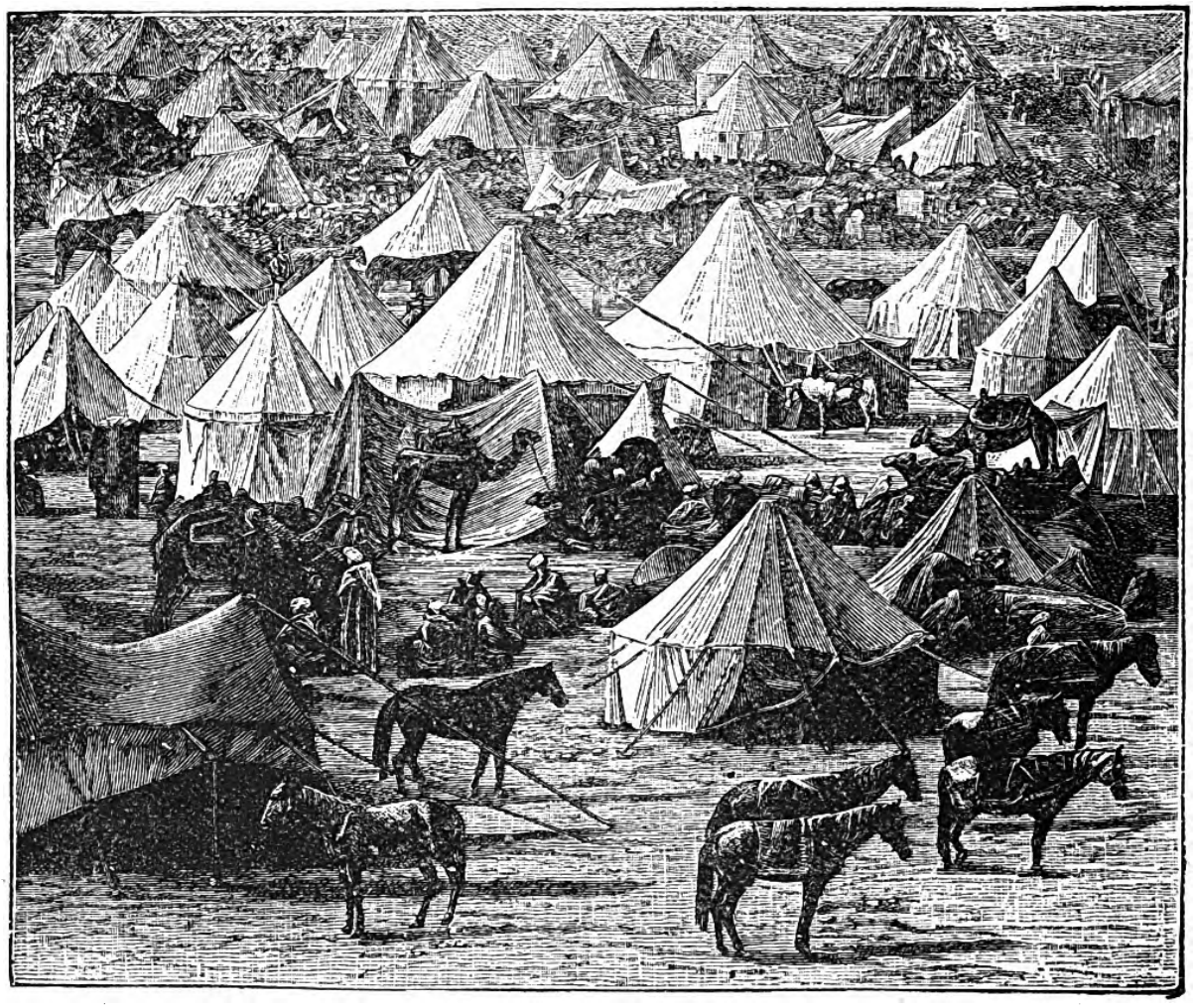
may think them, they are necessary to be told in connection with our story. The Bible records that in the days of Isaac and Jacob there were traders in Palestine, who came from and returned to Arabia, exchanging the productions of the two lands. As we follow the history along, we find that in the reign of Solomon the "kings of Arabia" and her merchants traded still with Judea, and that the prophet Ezekiel, in his lamentation for the wealthy city of Tyre, graphically refers to the traffickers from Dedan and Aden and Saba as bringing to that great Mediterranean seaport rich spices and precious stones, bright sword-blades and chests of costly apparel, gold, and wrappings of blue and embroidered work.*

This was hundreds of years before Christ; and we learn from Roman writers that the lucrative commerce was kept up until a time came at which men began to carry on their trade over the waters of the Red Sea. Then the ship of the ocean took the place of the ship of the desert, and the camels were no longer needed in vast numbers for transportation, nor the drivers to direct them. Mercantile stations and halting-places had been established along the shores, from the Persian Gulf to the northern extremity of the Gulf of Akaba, which were then deserted, and many men were obliged to scatter and seek occupation in other places. The number of Bedawins, or wanderers over the deserts, was much increased.

During the years of ignorance, the world knew little of the peninsula of Arabia. In the reign of

* Ezekiel, xxviii., 19–24.

Augustus, a quarter of a century before Christ, a Roman army, under command of Ælius Gallus, prefect of Egypt, had crossed the Red Sea at the command of the emperor, with the intention of making treaties with the people, or of conquering them, if they should dare to oppose Roman progress. For



AN ENCAMPMENT OF ARABIAN PILGRIMS.

six months the army wandered about in the extreme south of the country, penetrating as far as Saba, under the direction of a treacherous guide; but the hot sun burned them, and the bad water made them ill. The force melted away under the disease; Ælius could not conquer the Arabs, and was obliged to hasten from the inhospitable region most ingloriously,

occupying but sixty days in his rapid retreat. The poet Horace mentions the proverbial opulence of the Arabians, which had tempted the emperor to send out this ill-fated expedition, and we learn from him with what avidity it was entered upon. Though it failed in its immediate purpose, it resulted in considerable addition to the world's knowledge of the land of the Saracens, for Gallus had been accompanied by his intimate friend Strabo, and when that writer found himself safe in Egypt again, he gave him the information he had gained, which we may still read in the sixteenth book of the geographer's great work.

Five hundred years after this (in the sixth century of our era), when Christianity had been introduced into the same part of the country, the Romans interfered again. From time immemorial the dynasty of the Himyarites had governed both Yemen and Hadramawt, the region to the east; but at this time a Jewish usurper had seized the throne, and was trying by means of frightful persecutions to turn the Christians to his faith. A refugee managed to find his way across Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor to the court of Justinian at Constantinople, and there holding up a half-burned gospel, pleaded for retribution. A prince of Abyssinia undertook the task, and crossed the Red Sea. He grasped the supreme authority, and ruled for a while, but finally his government was thrown off, and Yemen at least became tributary to Persia.

The position of Mecca, which made the Kaaba a centre for the faithful to congregate about, is very

convenient, for it is midway on the road from the Gulf of Akaba to Saba. It is about fifty miles from the shores of the Red Sea, and some thirty from the granite peaks of Jebel Kora. East of this mountain there lies a smiling country clothed with verdure and beautified by shady trees, while apples and figs, pomegranates and peaches, abound in perfection. The region about Mecca is, however, a great contrast to this loveliness. There rugged rocks look sullenly down upon barren valleys, sandy and stony, and the labors of the farmer are rewarded by doubtful crops.

The irregular valley in which Mecca lies is about two miles in length, the Kaaba and the principal portions of the city being in an amphitheatre about a half mile in width, surrounded by precipitous rocks that frown upon it from elevations of two hundred, three hundred, and even five hnndred feet. Such was the spot in which Hagar and Ishmael were imagined to have found a haven of refuge; and surely it was a fitting place for the cradle of a race of wild, hardy, active, agile men, whose hands were, in the language of Scripture, to be against every man and every man's hand against them; of men who were to be strong, and destined to dwell over against their brethren, ever threatening them.

At some time, probably long before history records any thing of it, a tide of pilgrimage turned towards this forbidding valley, and the western-central region of Arabia came to be called Hejaz, the land of pilgrimages. Commerce had to a great extent deserted its ancient route down the shores of the Red Sea, but

feticism still poured its thousands of devotees into this valley. They thronged especially about the "Mountain of Mercy," Arafat, which is a slight elevation rising but two hundred feet above the plain on which it stands, on the sacred summit of which it was said that Adam had built a house of worship, and had been taught by the angel Gabriel how to pray.

These vast numbers brought much money to the place, and schemers saw that the control of their supplies would give power and fortune to whoever should obtain it. The so-called descendants of Ishmael asserted that it was their privilege, and for a time they actually held it; but envious neighbors deprived them of their birthright, and held it until one Kossai arose with ambition and force enough to claim, and at last to concentrate in his person, the attributes of chief of the city. He was descended from Fihr, surnamed the Koreish, or trafficker, whose pedigree has been carefully traced, but of whom little is known except that he was powerful. Kossai brought many of his kindred into the valley about the year 440 A.D.; built a palace, and a house for the transaction of important business; directed the coming and going of the caravans; held the keys of Kaaba; monopolized the supplies of bread for the pilgrims; and controlled the refreshing waters of Zem-zem,—in short, he made a city of Mecca and firmly ruled it.*

* The business of conveying the thousands of pilgrims who still go to Mecca (from India, at least) has just been placed in the hands of the tourists, Cook and Sons, who, by contract with the British government, carry them in well-appointed steamships.

Kossai grasped at once all civil, political, and religious authority, gave circumstance to the duties and ceremonies required of the pilgrim; and the willing and superstitious Arabs hesitated not to follow his commands. When they came in after-times to perform the pilgrimage, they put on a dress known as the ihrâm, dutifully visited the Kaaba, and kissed the sacred black stone; they performed the tawâf, by walking seven times around the building, three times impetuously and four times at an easy pace; seven times they ran up the hills Safa and Marwa and down again; of an early morning they rushed tumultuously to the summit of the mount Arafat, and hastened back again; they threw stones at three pillars, in mystic memory of Abraham, or, perhaps, of Adam, who met Iblis there, and in like manner drove him away; they sacrificed some animal and then took off the ihrâm and rested three days, after which they repeated the seven circuits of the Kaaba, and were at liberty to turn their faces homewards and return to the usual duties of life, ever afterwards honored with the title Haj, or pilgrim. The offerings made by the devotees were in memory of the sacrifice of Ishmael that Abraham intended to make, for they put their ancestor in the place of Isaac. What the duties of pilgrims were at first we cannot tell, nor do we know the names of the idols that were worshipped in the Kaaba, though there were in early times over three hundred and sixty-five of them in the pantheon.

The honors and privileges of chief at Mecca were not enjoyed in peace by the descendants of Kossai,

and many struggles are recorded among them, In time there arose in the regular line one Abd Menaf, who was strong enough to obtain and convey to his son Hashim the hereditary right of entertaining the pilgrims. Omia, a nephew of Hashim, proved a determined opponent, and the enmity was bequeathed to their sons, so that the struggles between the Hashimites and the Omiades became historic and bloody. Once the holy well was, strangely enough, covered up and forgotten, until Abd al Muttalib, son of Hashim, miraculously uncovered it, whereupon he immediately increased in dignity and fame and continued to be honored until his death.

In an hour of weakness Abd al Muttalib had once vowed that if he should ever be so greatly blessed as to have ten sons, one should certainly be devoted to Allah. In process of time the number was fulfilled, and the sorrowing father reluctantly gathered his offspring in the Kaaba and cast lots for the one to be sacrificed. The lot fell upon Abdalla, the beautiful son of his old age, and the sacrificial knife was solemnly prepared. Then the sisters of Abdalla rose up and besought their father to cast lots between their brother and ten camels—in those days considered the proper fine for the blood of a man. Abd al Muttalib consented, and lo! the lot a second time fell upon the beloved son. Again resort was made to the lot—the number of beasts being doubled; but still it fell upon the son. Time after time the trial was made, at the urgent appeal of the sorrowing sisters, until one hundred camels had been proffered, when to their joy the lot fell upon the beasts;

Abdalla was spared, and the inhabitants of Mecca feasted upon the carcasses that had been forfeited.*

Before the days of Kossai there had been no real government in Arabia; every man did that which was right in his own eyes, acknowledging but indefinite allegiance to his own tribe; and even now government depended upon force, and was liable at any time to be overthrown. Such was the condition of affairs as the years of ignorance approached their end; at the time when the outer world was destined to interfere in the affairs of the peninsula and an Eastern miracle was to be seen.

* The price of the blood of a man after this time was one hundred camels—a number which the great prophet of the people confirmed.

IV.

THE YEAR OF THE ELEPHANT.

DURING the life of Abd al Muttalib there ruled in Yemen a powerful viceroy of the Prince of Abyssinia, whose name was Abraha. He had his capital at Sana, to which city he had brought the commerce of Persia and of his own country, and had established in it a power that has not yet faded away, for Sana is said to possess even now many attractive buildings, gardens, fountains, and palaces, and to be still the centre of a considerable trade. Representing a Christian prince, Abraha had erected a temple of some magnificence, which he hoped would draw worshippers away from the Kaaba, but in this he was disappointed, and his Christianity did not prove powerful enough to keep his angry passions from rising as he contemplated his failure. He determined to accomplish by force that which he had failed to bring to pass by persuasion. In his wrath he gathered an army with which he purposed to attack Mecca, marched towards that place with banners flying, and easily thrust aside the opposition made to his progress by the unorganized tribes that he found in the first portion of his route.

As he pushed onward his hot anger boiled in him

as the difficulties of the way increased day after day. Sana is said to be about fifteen days' journey from Mocha and Aden, and if this be true, it must be not less than forty days' journey from Mecca.* Three days' march from the Holy City lies the town of Taif (pronounced Tâ-eef,) now considered almost as sacred as the Mother of Cities herself. At that time, for some reason, the men of Taif did not care to claim any interest in Mecca, and said as much to Abraha. They even went so far as to offer him a guide through the desert to the place that he sought to destroy,—not a very neighborly act. Ages have passed since that memorable march, but the perfidy of the traitorous guide is not forgotten. For centuries passers-by were accustomed to cast stones upon his tomb, for he suddenly died by the way, and did not live long enough after making his offer to complete the march of three days. An angry man is not easily stopped, however, and Abraha forged along, sending out troops in advance, who were ordered to take what cattle could be obtained, and probably to spread among the scattered people whom they met stories of the prowess of the viceroy. They told of his strong army, of the riches of the city of Sana, and above all, we may be sure, they described a huge elephant that he had in his train—an animal that was quite new to the Arabians and very frightful. Two hundred camels of Abd al Muttalib were swept away by this raid of Abraha's advance guard.

Before reaching Mecca the viceroy sent messen-

* Abulfeda, an Arabian geographer of the thirteenth century, would make the distance but thirty days' journey.

gers to the city, who said, in the flowery language of the East: "Abraha, viceroy of the king of Abyssinia, desires not to injure you, O ye men of the Holy City; he wishes but to destroy the Kaaba, which in his eyes is a polluted house, the home of idols, the shrine of a false religion. This done, he will retire without shedding the blood of any among you." It may well be imagined that a message like this did not accomplish its purpose, for there was no object so much venerated and so carefully guarded by the inhabitants of Mecca as their sacred building. They were ready to sacrifice life and every thing they possessed for its preservation, and though they had before thought that any effort to oppose so powerful an enemy would be fruitless, they were now stimulated to put forth their utmost strength in its behalf. They conveyed their decision to Abraha by an embassy, and Abd al Muttalib himself went to the enemy's camp to emphasize the message. Abraha endeavored by all means in his power to induce the guardians of the sacred building to betray their trust. He returned the stolen camels of Abd al Muttalib; he offered him riches; but all in vain; the negotiations were broken off. Abraha was proudly informed that the Kaaba was under the care of Allah; and then the men of Mecca, almost in despair, returned to their homes, leaving him to act as he thought best.

The host of the elephant, as it was called, was deemed invincible, however, and after a while the Meccans losing hope of being able to resist it, sorrowfully decided to retreat to the surrounding hills.

When this determination had been reached, Abd al Muttalib took hold of the ring of the door of the sacred house and prayed aloud: "Defend, O Allah, thine own house, for thy servants are too feeble to oppose violence with force; suffer not the cross to triumph over the Kaaba!" After these words he retreated with the other citizens to the hills, and calmly awaited the result. To the surprise of the whole population they saw the invading army begin to beat a retreat! The huge elephant had refused to advance upon the city; and besides, the invaders had been suddenly attacked by an irresistible foe. A pestilence had broken out in their ranks, and in fear of death, they hastened to get away from a spot that seemed to them the abode of death. Soon after they started they were abandoned by their guides, and many died in the way in the intricacies of the wadies. Many others were swept away by a flood that seemed to be sent upon them by the wrath of Allah, and Abraha himself, stricken by the foul disease, only reached Sana to find in it a grave. The men of Mecca gave thanks that they had been delivered, and still the Moslem mosques reverberate with the sound of the voice of the Islamite priests, as they cry:

"In the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate! Hast thou not seen what Allah did with the fellows of the elephant? Did he not make their stratagem lead them astray, and send down on them birds in flocks to cast upon them stones of baked clay, and make them like munched stalks of grain?" *

* It is supposed that the disease which attacked the host of Abraha was the small-pox, the hard pustules of which are, by a violent meta-

For twelve hundred years these words have been constantly repeated, and the faithful thus reminded of the time when Allah was implored by Abd al Muttalib to interpose for the preservation of the Kaaba. The event gave greater stability to the power of the descendants of Abd Menaf, while it deepened the strife between the Omiades and the Hashimites.

Another event of the Year of the Elephant marks it still more strongly, and but for it the Story of the Saracens had never been told. The year previous, the young and beautiful Abdalla, whose name means "Servant of Allah," had espoused a charming maiden descended from a brother of the famous Kossai, Amina by name. So lovely was the son of Abd al Muttalib, and so beautiful, that the old story-tellers affirm that when he married Amina two hundred fair maidens of Mecca died of sorrow that he had not married them! He was, it is a pleasure to add, as good as he was handsome. Not long after his wedding he was called to go on business to Gaza, in Southern Syria, the strong city of the Philistines, from which Samson carried away the gates and towards which the minister of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, journeyed after his visit to Jerusalem, as

phor, likened to small stones which birds cast down under direction of Allah.—The Koran, sura xciv. (In making extracts from the Koran the author has not confined himself to any single version, but has endeavored to take that one in each instance which seemed to give the sense in the most appropriate English. The versions of Palmer, Rodwell, Kazimirski, Sale, and others have been constantly consulted, and all the extracts have been carefully compared with the Arabic.)

related in the book of Acts. On his way homewards Abdalla was attacked by disease at Medina (then called Yathrib), and before fair Amina or any of her friends could visit him he died. He left but poor provision for his young wife—only a few inferior camels, a slave-girl, and a flock of goats.

Tradition, which magnifies every event in this history, relates that a few weeks afterwards, in a day towards the end of summer,* Amina became the mother of a boy who, marvellous to tell, exclaimed as soon as he came into the world:

"Allah is great! There is no god but Allah, and I am his prophet!"

It is said that men in distant places were startled by wondrous events that same August day; that a violent earthquake shook the palace of great Chosroes in Persia to its very foundations, so that its tall minarets toppled to the earth; that a certain high officer saw in a vision a wild camel overcome by an Arabian charger; that the sacred fire which for a thousand years had burned incessantly on the altar of Zoroaster, under watch of the Magi, went out; that Iblis was cast into the depths of the sea, and the malignant jinns were thrust out by the pure angels. The boy's grandfather took him to

* Caussin de Perceval gives this date August 20, 570 A.D.; and Professor E. A. Freeman, in the revised edition of his "Lectures on the Saracens," puts it in 569; but Professor E. H. Palmer, the scholarly translator of the Koran, gives April 20, 571, though he adds that any date is uncertain. Dr. Emanuel Deutsch gives the same year. The latest authority, Dr. August Müller, in "Der Islam," vol. i., p. 44, says that 570 is correct, and that April 20, 571 is the "conventional date."

the Kaaba, where, holding him high in his arms, he solemnly gave thanks to Allah for his birth, and named him Mohammed, "the Praised One." This name, we are assured, had never been used before, and there were great expectations on account of the boy's birth; but there are grave doubts in this respect, and some writers say that the baby was originally called Kothan, a name which was changed at a later period, for reasons which will become apparent in the course of our story.*

Doubtless the miracles are all exaggerated inventions of after-times, and it is not necessary to believe them, marvellous as Mohammed's career proved. There is no reason to doubt, however, that when he was seven days old his venerable grandfather gave a feast to the men of the powerful tribe of the Koreishites, and presented the babe as one destined to bring glory to their race, a destiny of which the name Mohammed, if given afterwards, was intended to seem prophetic.

* See Emanuel Deutsch's article on "Islam."

V.

THE SACRILEGIOUS WAR.

IT was the fashion among the ladies of high birth at Mecca, in the olden time, to give their children to nurses, who took them off to the mountains and cared for them in the fresh air, where they had ample opportunity to develop their bodies, and to grow strong. Amina was of high birth, and surely her little boy had a pedigree long enough, for it reached to Adam, and she followed the custom of the time by entrusting Mohammed to a woman of the tribe of Beni Sad, whose pedigree also ran back to remote antiquity. The name of this foster-mother was Halima. She accepted the care of the fatherless child rather from compassion than desire, and took him off to a valley among the mountains that run southward from Taif. Poor Amina, like many another person with a long pedigree, had so little of the goods of this world that there was no great promise of reward for the nurse's labor. Imagine this woman of Sad riding away from the young widow, carrying an only son, to be gone, no one could tell how long.

At the end of two years both nurse and child returned, and Amina was so much pleased by the fresh

and ruddy appearance of her son, that she said: "Take him back to the desert; let him grow and be strong." He accordingly returned and remained three years longer, though, during that period he was at one time attacked by disease, which aroused the superstitious fears of Halima and her husband, and they carried him home to Amina, fearful lest he might be under the influence of an evil jinn. Halima loved her little charge, however, and was persuaded to take him back again, though after that she never allowed him to wander from her sight. In spite of her precautions, the jinns managed, as she thought, to get access to him, and a "seal of prophecy" was placed upon him between the shoulders, which did not disappear during all his life. Those who did not believe that he was a prophet at all saw nothing in this mark but a mole, nor do they give more faith to another story, which relates that one day Gabriel came down with a companion angel, and gently taking Mohammed's heart out of his body, washed it from all uncleanness, filled it with faith, knowledge, purity, and light, and replaced it as painlessly as it had been taken out.

For whatever reason, Mohammed was returned to Amina at about the age of five, and did not leave her again. The following year she took him to the city of Medina, on a visit to relatives, but on the return trip she died, and for the remainder of the journey he was left to the care of a faithful slave-girl. She conducted him to his aged grandfather, who, for the next two years, cared for him with fondness. At the end of that brief period, Abd

al Muttalib died, leaving his grandchild to be provided for by his uncle, Abu Talib, who had inherited also the care of the Kaaba. Abu Talib was a man much respected for his noble traits, and he proved a good friend to his nephew. He placed Mohammed's bed by the side of his own, gave him a seat at his table, and allowed him to accompany him wherever he went, thus making him familiar to the fullest extent with the rites and ceremonies of the traditional religion, and perhaps inspiring him with respect for them.

Meantime, the prestige of the family was overshadowed by the branch of Omia, which held the leadership in war, for there was no member of the tribe of Hashim of sufficient strength to retain the ascendancy. Among the Hashimites, too, the privileges held by Abd al Muttalib were divided, for Abu Talib transferred to his younger brother, Abbas, the control of the well Zem-zem, and he himself did not obtain any commanding public position in Mecca.

Let us for a moment look at our growing boy. He was now twelve; his earliest years had been passed among an ancient tribe, the speech of which was as celebrated as the atmosphere of the mountains for its purity. He had been practised in all the feats of an active people which strengthen and give agility to the bodily frame; and with the free air of the region he had drunk in the freest spirit of the freest tribe of his nation.* Healthy, independent, self-

* "The Arab was free, but his freedom was not like that of the old Greek, or the modern Englishman or American, a civil freedom enjoyed in common with his brethren; it was the mere absence of

reliant, he was well prepared for a life in which all these traits were destined to be of the greatest use.

The good uncle was not only interested in the Kaaba and its worship, but he was also one of the most active among the traders who did so much to increase the wealth of Mecca. Mohammed doubtless saw the crowds of camels which at times filled the streets of his native city, and we can imagine how his young mind, excited as it already had been by his musings among the mountains, and by his associations with those older than himself, often followed in thought the long trains as they disappeared from sight over the roads to the northward and the southward, as they journeyed to Yemen or to Syria; and many a time he must have asked what the distant lands were like, and what their people might be. When, on one occasion, Abu Talib was himself setting out for Syria, Mohammed clung to him and pleaded to be permitted to go too, urging his petition by saying, "Who, O my uncle, will care for me when once *thou* art gone?" The request was granted and the boy of twelve started out on the long journey.

The country through which the train passed was peopled with all the creatures of the Arabian mythology; there the jinns, good and bad, wandered at their own free will, and engaged in enterprises adapted to excite the youthful mind; there, in

any legal restraint upon his action. Every man of a free tribe was himself his own Cæsar and Chosroes; every man asserted the royal prerogative of avenging his injuries by the sword."—E. A. Freeman, "The History and Conquests of the Saracens," page 27.

VIEW IN PETRA, ON THE ROUTE FROM ARABIA TO PALESTINE.

deserted and silent caves, it was said that the children of Thamud, often mentioned by Mohammed in the Koran, dwelt, and there the gigantic she-camel had issued miraculously from a mountain side; there old men had been transformed into swine, and young men into monkeys, as the wondering boy learned from the tales related by his elders under the evening stars.

Uncle and nephew visited the old town of Bozra (Bostra), on the road to Damascus, and they were hospitably entertained in that busy city of merchantmen, the market-place of Syria, Irak, and the Hejaz. Long were the opportunities for conversation afforded, and we may be sure that they were used in discussing the differences between the religious faiths professed by the men of the South and the men of the North. The worship of idols may have been one of these topics of conversation; it could hardly have been otherwise, and perhaps this was one reason why Mohammed afterwards became such a devoted preacher against the idolatry of his countrymen. He journeyed along the eastern shores of the Dead Sea, and must have heard the stories of the destruction of the cities of the plain, stories which would have made a person, young or old, shudder, hearing them at that age of the world for the first time.

We are to think of this boy as without books to study about times gone by, or to fill the vacancy of the passing hour; and thus, as obliged to allow his mind to wander time and again through well-worn regions of fancy, and over the traditions of his people.

It is not easy to put ourselves in the place of such a person, we who have all our lives read books, and have lived with the men of every age as though they were present with us. Did it breed in the young man a stronger wish to see into the past and to know what other parts of the world were like; or, did it make him taciturn, as we know he was, thoughtful and wrapped up in himself and in thoughts of some wonderful mission that he imagined was before him, or which he laid out for himself? We cannot tell. We may only see what his life was, and vaguely guess.

Though the Arabians had at this time no books, they were interested in letters, and had literary contests, in which large numbers of persons joined with intense spirit. There was about the town of Okatz, a place a little east of Mecca, a pleasant region where merchant and traveller comforted themselves after toilsome journeys, and where at certain times a general fair was held. On these occasions, so tradition asserts, bards recited poems; each praised the virtues of his lady-love, dwelt upon the charms of the encampment she had rested in, mourned over the solitude that she had left when she deserted the spot, or, perchance, they proclaimed their own personal prowess, the greatness and antiquity of their tribes, the gentleness and beauty of their favorite camels. To the most worthy, prizes were awarded, their poems being written out in elaborate characters.*

* It is said in most books on the subject that the prize poems, thus brilliantly written out, were hung up in the Kaaba; but this has been denied since the days of Pocock, who deemed it entirely improbable

Great was the competition on such occasions, and at the period to which we are now giving our attention, the rivalry resulted in a war bloody and long, called, from the period of the year in which it began, "sacrilegious."

As it became necessary in Europe during the Middle Age to have a Truce of God and a Peace of God, during which men were not to assert the right of private vengeance, so in Arabia, in early times, men who might pursue to the death those who had wronged them, were not allowed to exercise their bloody prerogative during certain sacred periods of the year, and it was at one of these that this war broke out.

One poet, who came up to the fair at Okatz in the year 580 (when Mohammed was about nine years of age), from the country between Mecca and Taif, vaunted the superiority of his tribe so eagerly, that he incited the mercurial Koreishites to draw their swords, and thus blood flowed in a contest that ought to have been a triumph of peace. Passions, when once excited in this way, often run riot for a long time, and so it happened on this occasion. It resulted in the establishment of a rule that every man coming to the fair should surrender his arms, but this proved ineffectual; the strife was continued; caravans were attacked and pillaged; lives were lost

(see his "Specimen," p. 159). Deutsch expresses the present opinion of most scholars when he says that the story is "unfortunately a myth," the fact being that the poems were simply compared for their imaginative beauty to "pearls loosely strung together," not hung up. See also Dr. August Müller, "Der Islam," page 42, note, for a discussion of the subject.

in the convoys; and in time the struggle spread to the allies of each tribe; and the boy who was nine when the first blood was spilled, was nineteen when peace was established. Mohammed had not himself been a fighter, but he had attended his uncles at times, and had sent some arrows towards the enemy with his boyish bow.

This war had one good result; it led to the formation of a union between certain tribes for the suppression of injustice and violence and the promotion of peace. When a wrong had been done, and the separate tribes neglected to punish the offender, this confederacy was pledged to be the champion of the injured. An uncle of Mohammed is credited with the honor of this movement.

The representatives of Hashim, with other descendants of Kossai, met at a feast and solemnly swore by Allah al-Muntakim, the avenging deity, that they would thus champion the oppressed and see their claims adjusted so long as a drop of water remained in the ocean; or they would satisfy the just demand from their own wealth. It was the proud exclamation of Mohammed in after-years that he would not exchange for the choicest camel in all Arabia the memory that he had been present when the oath was taken at the house of Abdalla binding the confederates to stand by the oppressed!

VI.

THE CAMEL-DRIVER OF THE DESERT.

If we may believe the traditions through which we are threading our way, there were other signs of good omen in the Arabian horizon at this time. They say that on the occasion of the celebration of one of the most carefully observed idol feasts, four Arabians who saw farther than their countrymen into the future, met in solemn and secret conclave to question the truth and reality of their religion. "We Arabians," they said one to another, "are walking in a false way; we have strayed from the religion of Abraham. What, indeed, is this pretended divinity in honor of whom we sacrifice victims, and about whom we make our solemn processions? It is nothing more than a block of senseless stone, and it cannot do us good or evil. Come, let us seek truth; let us look for the pure religion of our Father Abraham; and for this holy purpose let us leave our native land and learn what strangers can tell us."

One of these skeptics (or Hanifs) was Waraka, a man who had had dealings with both Christians and Jews, and was better educated than his fellow-citizens. It is asserted that he was persuaded that a messenger from heaven (some Mahdi), was then about to come into the world. Waraka had learned

the Hebrew language, and finally after long study he became a convert to Christianity.* The second of the group of enquirers was a cousin of Waraka; he had fought in the sacrilegious war, and now he started off to travel into far countries seeking light. At last he found himself at the court of Rome, where he became convinced of the truth of Christianity and was baptized. The third was a grandson of Abd al Muttalib, who, after much difficulty and many wanderings, found a home also in the Christian Church. The fourth was Zeyd, a Koreishite; he struggled long with his doubts, going day by day to the Kaaba, where he piously meditated, leaning against the wall of the building, and giving voice to his feelings in these words: "Lord, if I knew in what manner thou wouldest that I should serve and adore thee, I would obey thy will; but I do not know. O give me light!" The meditations and prayers of Zeyd brought him neither to the religion of the Jews nor to that of the Christians, but to a faith of his own invention; he worshipped a god who was one, and declaimed with energy against the false divinities and superstitions of his countrymen, warning them of the sinfulness of certain of their abominable customs. His preaching was so full of feeling that it excited lively opposition, and finally he was himself put into prison. Escaping from confinement, Zeyd wandered through Mesopotamia

* Sir William Muir considers "such anticipations" "altogether puerile," though he admits that it is highly probable that a spirit of religious enquiry, a disposition to reject idolatry, and a perception of the superiority of Judaism and Christianity, existed in some quarters.

(Irak) and Syria, learning all that he could about the religions of the peoples he visited, until finally he encountered a band of Arabs who robbed him of his goods and put him to death.

Is there truth in these traditions? No one can tell us; but even if the details are baseless, there is still ground for believing that at this time the Arabian mind was waking up to a sense of the need of some better religion than that of the fathers. Seldom does any great movement astonish the world by rising unannounced. Never does a great invention startle us but we find that many minds have been, for a long time, perhaps, studying in the line that was followed by the man who finally succeeded. There is such a thing as sympathetic groping for light by persons who have no communication with each other, and there is such a thing as united searching by men who find not what they want until they learn that another Galahad has actually seen the holy Grail. So it must have been at this time (as it ever has been); perhaps there were more men than these four asking themselves at the same moment: "What am I? What is life? What is death? What am I to believe? What am I to do? What is this unfathomable thing I live in which men call the universe?" * Perhaps Waraka and his fellows were but a few among many "Hanifs," as these seekers after light were called, and doubtless they influenced Arabian opinion generally.†

* See Carlyle's essay, "The Hero as a Prophet."

† "These Hanifs form a very curious and most important phase of Arabian faith before Mohammed—a phase of Jewish Christianity, or

Meantime young Mohammed was watching his sheep on the hills and in the valleys about his native city, for as he himself said long afterwards, there never was a prophet who was not once a shepherd, and we shall find that he was to be a prophet. Not many of us know what it is to be alone. Perhaps we do not stop to think how few moments of our lives are spent in solitude. We may think we find it if we walk forth by night or wander through the most sparsely inhabited regions that we can find in our civilized lands; but such journeys give us no adequate idea of the solitude that the lonely shepherd of Arabia knew hundreds of years ago. Nothing human detracted from his thoughts if he wished to reflect upon any of the great problems that seem to us now to have been then attracting attention from all who reflected at all. We cannot think of Mohammed as other than thoughtful. He must have looked to the sky and the wide-spreading world for some replies to the questions the Hanifs asked.

He was not, however, so given to reflection as to

Christian Judaism. They loved to call themselves also 'Abrahamitic Sabians,' and Mohammed, at the outset, called himself one of them. They were to all intents and purposes 'heretics.' They believed in one God. They had the Law and the Gospel, and further, certain Rolls of Abraham and Moses, called Ashmaat, to which Mohammed at first appeals."—"Islam," by Emanuel Deutsch. "The worship of one supreme Allah seems to have always been the basis of Arabian religion. The Semitic race has never conceived of any other government of the universe except an absolute monarchy."—Renan "*Etudes d'Histoire religieuse*," p. 273.

"Since the time of Abraham," says Barthélemy St. Hilaire, "worshippers of one God had always been numbered among the Arabians." —"Mahomet et le Coran," p. 67.

be entirely impractical, and we find him going to Syria and to Yemen as agent of caravans. His uncle said to him: "I am, as thou knowest, a man of small substance; and verily the times go hard with me; now lo, a caravan of the tribe of thy fathers is preparing to go to Syria with merchandise. Kadija, the widow, asketh for sons of Koreish to go, and she is ready to accept thy services."

"Be it as thou hast said," replied the young man.

A bargain was made with Kadija, that for four camels Mohammed should conduct a caravan over the same route that he had taken when he went to Bozra; and the old associations must have come back to him with great force as he looked upon the scenes after an interval of thirteen years, which comprised all of his youth. Every thing added to his knowledge of men and of life, and prepared him for success. He disposed to advantage of the merchandise that Kadija had committed to his care, and obtained other products to be sold at Mecca. Thus his title "The Trusty" was more than ever fixed in the estimation of his fellow-citizens.

Mohammed was a man of little over the medium stature, with a commanding presence; his wide chest and broad shoulders were surmounted by a long and finely moulded neck, and a massive head, from which looked out a frank, oval face marked by a prominent aquiline nose; large, restless, and piercing black eyes, over which long, heavy lashes drooped; and a bushy beard fell upon his breast. He was continually meditating; never speaking except from neces-

sity, and then uttering but few and those pregnant words. His organization was exceedingly sensitive, and he had strong passions; which were, however, controlled by reason. His habits were extremely simple, and his acts merited the reputation for modesty that he was accorded by all who knew him. Kind and thoughtful towards his friends, he was almost unrelenting towards enemies. Such was the camel-driver whom Kadija obtained through the intervention of Abu Talib.

Kadija, whose lineage was the same as that of Mohammed, was a widow who had been twice married. Her husbands had left her with a considerable fortune, to which she had added by her good judgment, and by the skill of the agents she had employed. Though forty years of age, she was of fairer countenance than many who were younger, and her personal and other charms had led some of the chief men among the Koreishites to endeavor to tempt her to renounce the dignified and independent widowhood that she seemed to enjoy. She failed to have affection for any of them aroused in her heart.

What changed her feelings now, we do not know, but the success of her new agent, and his personal character attracted her to him, and when he returned from Syria, she seems to have been on the look-out for his arrival; like some Jewish watchman on the tower over the gate, she gazed into the distance, and lo, as Mohammed approached the end of his long journey, her ardent imagination pictured to her two angels shading him with their wings from the

intense heat of the Arabian sun! The "faithful one" was to her mind under the immediate watch of Allah, and her sentiments, already warm, became deeper,—she wished for him as husband.

Mohammed soon received a visit from a sister of Kadija, who said to him: "Why, O Mohammed, is it that at your mature age, you do not marry?" The question would have been a strange one to come from a young woman to a young man of twenty-five in our day, but as it was not usual for an Arabian to remain single after reaching adult age, it was not so remarkable then. Mohammed replied that he had no fortune to offer to a bride; and this made it easy for the question: "Perchance that difficulty may be removed; a lady of sufficient wealth might offer to share it with thee; then what wouldst thou say?"

"Is there such a lady; and who is she?" asked the young man.

"Kadija!"

"Is it possible for me to ingratiate myself with her?"

"Leave that to me."

It appears that the father of the widow was still living, and refused to give his consent to his daughter's plan. Though there seemed to be danger that blood would be shed, in an angry discussion that followed, all obstacles to the union were at last removed, and Mohammed, who was then twenty-five, became husband of Kadija, aged forty. The marriage proved admirable in all respects; the wife appreciated the character and capacity of the husband,

and he loved her with an affection so sincere that nothing could rob him of it, and the influence of the good Kadija remained with him throughout his life. It was characteristic of Mohammed not to forget his friends, and on this occasion he remembered Halima who had watched over his tottering first steps. She was called from the pastures of Beni Sad to rejoice at the wedding, and when she returned to continue her life of simple content, she took with her a flock of forty sheep, a present from her foster-son.

Well did Abu Talib, in view of this marriage, lift up his voice in these words: "Praises be unto Allah, who has given us birth in the line of Ishmael! Praised be Allah, that Mohammed, not blessed with the good gifts of fortune, has asked and received the hand of Kadija. He has no equal. This marriage will be blessed of the Lord of Majesty and Liberality; a future full of glory is open to Mohammed the son of Abdalla!"

VII.

THE MAN OF AFFAIRS MEDITATES.

YEARS of domestic happiness followed, and it was the joy of Mohammed and Kadija to become, in process of time, parents of a son. An event of this kind causes so much rejoicing in an Arabian household, that the fathers call themselves after the sons, and thus the "Son of Abdalla" became the "Father of Kasim." Another son and four daughters followed, but none of them all has much interest for us, except Fatima, one of the youngest of the daughters, upon whom much of our future history will be found to depend. The sons died very young.

During these peaceful years Mohammed busied himself as a man of affairs in the management of Kadija's caravans, going to distant places, as he had before, but he did not prove so capable as a husband as he had when simple agent, and the wealth of his wife rather diminished than increased. Kadija's fortune had, however, raised Mohammed to a high social position in his native city, a rank to which, it is true, his birth in the tribe of Koreishites had already entitled him.

The wealth acquired by marriage seems to have exerted another noteworthy influence; it gave Mo-

hammed more leisure to indulge his habitual habit of meditation, and for study in the religions of his fathers, as well as in those of the Jews and Christians. It is probably true that he could neither read nor write, but in this he was not behind his contemporaries in Arabia; letters, as we have observed, were but little cultivated before his day, and there is no probability that there existed a single volume of prose, the product of the Arabian mind, which he could have read had he been better instructed. There were a few poems, such as had gained prizes at the fairs, but that was all, and he who wished to cultivate his mind was forced to look to Jewish or Christian sources. In these directions Mohammed did not learn from books, but from oral tradition, and what he took into his mind was distorted, disconnected, and fragmentary; but, though it was a mixture, there ran through it all certain general principles which took root and bore fruit.

During this period the Arabians were becoming better acquainted with their neighbors to the eastward. A commercial expedition had visited the city of Hira, capital of Irak, a city situated in the valley of the Euphrates, not far south of the site of Babylon. The men who had accompanied this caravan returned with rich profits, and adorned the city of Taif with new buildings, erected by laborers sent by the Persian ruler specially to make a memorial of his good-will towards them; for he had been very favorably impressed by their sagacity and spirit. At this time the empires of Rome and Persia were, as we have seen, the two prominent powers of the

world, dividing between them the fairest and most famous regions of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Eastern empire, with its capital at Constantinople, still extended over nearly all the countries around the Mediterranean, and the commands of Cæsar were obeyed from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. The illustrious dynasty of the Sassanidæ now ruled Persia, and its greatness is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of the world. Rome, or the Eastern empire, represented Christianity, and Persia the Zoroastrian fire-worship.*

Under the influence of his new wealth, we find Mohammed gradually withdrawing from commerce and devoting his time to reflection upon the condition of his country, and the possibilities of improving it. We must remember that while the Bedawins roamed the interior desert free from all dictation by outside rulers, the Arabs of Yemen and of some other sections were under Persian influence; those of Syria were governed from Constantinople; while those of Irak or Mesopotamia vacillated between allegiance to the one great power and the other.

Judaism and Christianity existed alongside of fetichism and paganism; but the largest portion of the people worshipped the numberless divinities of the Kaaba, though admitting that there was an Allah, supreme above all others. The belief in jinns and angels, which has been outlined, was not systematically expressed at any time, though it had long existed as a vague and poetic superstition. There was

* "The History and Conquests of the Saracens," by E. A. Freeman, pp. 10, 17.

also an uncertain faith in the resurrection to another life, after the separation of the soul and the body. The people were grossly addicted to gaming, and to the abuse of wine; and every man married as many wives as he could support, some of these relations being of the most odious character. The ferocious custom of burying female offspring alive as soon as born was followed, either as considering women not worth bringing up, or from an exaggerate sense of honor, as though fearing that the helpless ones might some day be carried off by an enemy!

The most learned man of his time was that Waraka who chivalrously entered upon the search for a better religion than that of his fathers, and of his society and wisdom Mohammed enjoyed the advantage. Like him, Mohammed was cast down by reflections upon the condition of his people; and like him also, he had dim impressions that there might be something elevating for them in the scriptures of other lands.

On the side of the mountain Hera, two or three miles to the north from Mecca, there was a small cavern in the red-granite rock, in which Mohammed found a quiet place for nursing his thoughts, and there he was sometimes accompanied by his faithful Kadija. Like a Christian anchorite, he secluded himself for days at a time, brooding with ever deepening anxiety upon the weighty problems that had presented themselves to his soul. Here he was accustomed to pass the Arabian Lent, the month Ramadan, in fasting, meditation, and prayer, looking from his lofty vantage-ground upon a natural scene

quite in consonance with the upheavals of his soul. Not a green object did his weary eye rest upon; all was barren and black; save when the white sand of the valley fell within his view.

Under such an unnatural strain Mohammed's mind became the sport of dreams by day and of dreams by night; ecstacies and trances came upon him, and oftentimes, losing all consciousness of surrounding objects, he lay upon the ground as dead.* Good Kadija sometimes witnessed these accesses of enthusiasm, and vainly enquired their cause. Her husband made mysterious responses; at times he gave utterance to almost frenzied language, some of which has been preserved. One of his rhapsodies, though not the earliest, is repeated as a sort of *Pater Noster* in the public and private worship of Arabia still:

> Praise be to Allah, the Lord of creation,
> The All-merciful, the All-compassionate!
> Ruler of the day of reckoning!

* We need not trouble ourselves to enquire into the nature of these trances upon which so much discussion has been based. Syed Ahmed, in his "Essays," says "Mohammed was vigorous and healthy, both in his infancy and his youth. . . . Through the whole of his life he was exposed to great perils and hardships, all of which he bore with unflinching patience and courage." Sprenger believes that they were epileptic fits; but Lake ("Islam: its Origin, Genius, and Mission," pp. 37, 41) says: "This state of mind is not peculiar to any religion. It is found among all religious enthusiasts, not excepting the idolaters of India, Greece, and Rome, and amongst Christians of most shades of opinion,—in convents, in nunneries, and with hermits in the wilderness. . . . It was the paroxysm of a soul struggling from darkness into light, although the light was only that of natural religion."

Thee we worship and thee we invoke for aid.
Lead us in the right path;
The path of those to whom thou art gracious,
Not of those thou art wroth with, nor of those who err.

—*Sura* i.

Perhaps, overcome by a sense of the ungratefulness of man, when forgetting that he was supported by Allah most gracious, he exclaimed:

"By the snorting chargers!
And those who strike fire with the hoof!
And those that make unexpected raids,
And darken with the dust of the desert,
And dash through a host therein!
Verily man is to his Lord ungrateful,
And is himself a witness thereof;
Verily he is keen in loving this world's goods.
Ah, knoweth he not when the graves shall be opened
And what is in the graves shall be brought forth?
Verily on that day Allah shall learn what is in them."

—*Sura* c.

At another time the lost state of human kind forced itself upon him with vividness, and he cried out:

"By the declining day!
Verily man rushes to destruction,
Save such as believe and do righteousness,
And urge one another to truth and patience."

—*Sura* ciii.

These are not the ravings of an unbalanced mind, but the powerful cries of one in earnest for the good of others. They were forced from the prophet by intense feeling, and are the utterances of one who, in the words of a master of emphatic expression, had "found it all out; was in doubt and darkness no longer, but saw it all. That all idols and formulas

were nothing, miserable bits of wood; that there was one God, in and over all; and we must leave all idols and look to Him. That God is great; and that there is nothing else great! He is Reality. Wooden idols are not real; he is real. He made us at first, sustains us yet; we and all things are but a shadow of Him; a transitory garment, veiling the Eternal Splendor. '*Allahu akbar*,'—Allah is great. '*Islam*,'—We must submit to Allah!" *

Meantime, the prestige of Mohammed was growing. On one occasion, when a flood had rushed down the valley, or when perhaps a fire had destroyed a portion of the Kaaba, it was rebuilt up to the point at which the sacred white stone was to be put in its former place. Then a strife for the honor of inserting the precious symbol arose, and hot words passed between the devout but quick-tempered builders as to which tribe should furnish the man to perform the coveted duty. A solemn convocation was called in the sacred enclosure, where, at the suggestion of the head of the Koreishites, it was agreed that the person who should, at a specified time, enter a certain door, should be commissioned to replace the stone. At the moment, Mohammed, —"el Amin," the Faithful one, entered, and was informed of the agreement. With a sagacity that astonished the simple-minded folk, he threw down his mantle, placed the stone upon it, and asked the four

* Carlyle, "The Hero as a Prophet." The late Emanuel Deutsch differs from this interpretation, and says that a Moslem means "one who strives after righteousness with his own strength." Islam is the religion of a Moslem.

chief men of the four principal families to grasp each a corner. Thus they lifted the stone to the proper height, and then Mohammed gently pushed it into its place in the wall. So deep an impression did the circumstance make upon the people of Mecca, that the names of the four men who held the mantle have, with religious care, been kept in memory to the present time. Not only was peace preserved by this act, but the character of Mohammed for wisdom and judgment was much raised; probably, also, he was himself impressed by a feeling that he was no ordinary person, a sentiment that seems to have been strong in his mind throughout life.

VIII.

THE MONTH RAMADAN.

YEARS passed, and Mohammed continued his life of meditation in desert places. At times he heard voices calling to him and saying: "Hail! thou messenger of Allah!" but when he looked about to see who spoke to him, lo, only trees and rocks were about him on all sides. We cannot believe that Mohammed lived such a life, and kept in his own heart all the stimulating impulses which he possessed at these times without betraying the fact to the people about him. They must have discussed among themselves the change that had come over the husband of Kadija, the man whom they had once so highly esteemed for his practical character.

Doubtless he spoke to them of the religion of the Jew and the Christian, and in his presence they may have attended to him, saying: "Truly, Allah *does* hold the heavens and the earth, lest they fall; if he had given us a prophet as he gave prophets to the other peoples, we should have been guided by them even as they were guided." Perhaps, when they went their way from him, they uttered hard things about him, and it may well be that it was to such double-faced persons that he spake when he uttered the words of the sura of the Slanderer:

" Woe unto the backbiter and the defamer !
Unto them who lay up wealth and number it,
Who think that riches will make them to stay forever !
Nay ! They shall be hurled into the Fire that Splitteth.
What shall make them understand what the Fire that Splitteth is ?
It is the fire kindled of Allah,
Which flameth above the hearts,
Verily, it shall be as arches above them,
As arches upon lofty columns ! "

—*Sura* civ.

Was it not to such, also, that he exclaimed ?—

" Surely we have created man in trouble ;
Doth he indeed think nought can prevail against him ?
He saith, ' I have wasted much wealth.'
Doth he think that none seeth him ?
Have we not made him two eyes, a tongue, and two lips,
And shown him the two roads ?
Yet he attempteth not the ascent.
What shall make thee know what the proof is ?
It is to free the captive,
Giving food in famine
To the orphan near of kin,
Or to the poor lying in the dust ;
It is to join with the believers
To stir one another to patience, and to encourage one another to compassion.
These shall sit on the right hand ;
They who misbelieve our signs shall be on the left hand,
Above them shall the flames arch ! "

—*Sura* xc.

The name of the month Ramadan, the annual period of fasting and prayer, signified originally a time of great heat; but the Arabian year was divided into lunar months, and there having been no allowance for the fact that twelve of them do not corre-

spond with a revolution of the sun, they gradually lost their proper positions in the solar year, and at the time which we are now considering, Ramadan, instead of coming at the period of great heat, corresponded with portions of December and January. When it fell on the long summer days, the fast was excessively severe in such a climate.

Mohammed was now at the mature age of near forty years. We have come to the month of December in the year 610 of our era. He was wandering over the wild but fascinating hills, for it was the sacred month, though most of it had indeed passed.* The strain of the long vigil was nearly over, but its effects were at their highest; he was ready for impressions. It was the "blessed night Al Kadar," of which the Koran says:

> What shall make thee understand how excellent the night
> Al Kadar is?
> The night Al Kadar is better than a thousand months!
> Therein do the angels descend,
> And the spirit also,
> By permission of their Lord,
> With his decrees concerning all matters,
> It bringeth peace until the rosy dawn!
>
> —*Sura* xcvii.

The name Al Kadar signifies "power," "honor," "dignity," and also "the divine decree," for it is on that night that (according to tradition) the decrees for the ensuing year are annually settled, or, per-

* This was the year in which Heraclius went from Alexandria to Constantinople, slew Phocas, the usurper, and placed himself upon the throne of the Roman empire.

haps, merely taken from the table before the throne of Allah, and given to the angels to be executed. At midnight Mohammed awoke and thought he heard a voice. Twice was it repeated, and twice he made efforts to avoid hearing it, but it could not be ignored; he felt as if a fearful weight were upon him, and as though his last moment had arrived. A third time he heard the sound, and could not stop his ears against it. Now there came audible words from the sky, addressed to him by an angel in bright apparel, whom his imagination showed him.

"O Mohammed, I am Gabriel!"

Terrified at this apparition, for it was new to him, though he had often before heard voices, he hastened to Kadija, his ever constant comforter in trouble, and exclaimed: "I have ever truly abhorred those who hold communication with jinns, and, lo, now I fear that I am to become a soothsayer myself!" A great trembling came upon him, and the perspiration ran down to his feet.

"Never, O father of Ḳasim!" she replied, "Allah will not allow his servant to fall"; and she hastened to let Waraka know what she had heard.

"Allah be praised!" cried the old man; "the son of Abdalla speaks the truth; this is the beginning of prophecy; there shall come unto Mohammed the great Law, like unto the law of Moses; charge him to keep hope in his heart; I will stand by him!"

Whether during the first interview or at another —it is not quite certain—Gabriel said, holding up a broad piece of silken stuff covered with written characters:

'Cry! in the name of Allah!
In the name of Allah who hath created,—
Who hath created man of thick blood!" *

"But I cannot read," cried the trembling father of Kasim," "I am a man untaught."

"Cry!" repeated the heavenly visitor,—

"Cry, by the most beneficent Allah,
Who taught the pen to write,
Who taught man what he knew not!
Verily, verily, man is rebellious;
Is insolent, because he groweth in riches.
Truly unto Allah is the return of all!
What of him who holdeth back,
Who forbiddeth a servant when he prayeth?
What of him? Doth he follow right,
Or command unto piety?
Dost not see that he rejecteth truth and turneth back?
Doth he not know that Allah seeth?
Verily, verily, if he desist not, we will drag him by the forelock,
The lying, sinful forelock.
Let him call his assembly;
We will call the guards of the Abyss!
Nay, obey him not, but adore and draw nigh!"

—*Sura* xcvi.

Despite the assurances of Waraka, Mohammed was filled with doubts and perplexities; he had been

* The principal words bear a striking identity with those in Isaiah, the fortieth chapter: "The voice of one saying 'Cry!' and one said 'What shall I cry?'" The word "cry," says Emanuel Deutsch, "is one of those very few onomatopoetic words still common to both Semitic and Indo-European." Its significations range from the vague sound of a bird or a tree to the silent weeping of a person; the crying of "deep unto deep;" the weird "*schrei*" of the Germans; the technical "reading of the Scriptures," in Aramaic; and even the solemn proclamation of a Greek herald. From it is derived Koran, the reading.

spoken to by Gabriel, and felt as though a book had been written in his heart, but he was not sure that his mission was to preach; besides, certain of the Koreishites reviled him. In this condition of perplexity he sought the weird mountain, intent on self-destruction, but at every attempt he was restrained, and he sat wrapped in his mantle or rug, after the Eastern fashion, when the angel again appeared. He said:

"O thou that art covered!
Arise and preach,
And magnify Allah!
Purify thy garments,
And shun abominations!
Grant not favors for increase;
Wait patiently for Allah.
When the trump shall blow shall be distress for misbelievers!'"
—*Sura* lxxiv.

Now, Mohammed had, he thought, been in direct communication with the messenger of Allah; he had distinctly been commissioned to preach; had been told what to say, and had been assured that he was the Prophet of the Most High. There was no more to be uncertainty nor trembling on his part; "Thus saith Allah!" was henceforth to be his cry. Did he reflect upon the apparent hopelessness of his mission? He was to tell a nation of idolaters, a nation that held in honor hundreds of idols, and preserved their images on their altars, that there was one God, and only one. If he stopped to think, he must have deemed it hopelessly impracticable. No one, surely, would listen, even to "the faithful one," bringing such a message. True, there were four

seekers, but of them one had been murdered, and one had found a religion of different character. They afforded very little ground for hope; but the true reformer does not ask much encouragement.

He rose superior to all his trembling forebodings and exultantly cried:

"By the splendor of midday!
By the stilly night!
The Lord hath not forsaken thee,
Neither doth He hate thee?
Verily the life to come shall be better than the past!
In the end Allah shalt award thee,
And thou shalt be pleased.
Did He not find thee an orphan, and give thee a home?
Find thee erring, and guide thee?
He found thee poor and made thee rich.
Wherefore oppress not the orphan,
Nor repel the beggar,
But declare the great bounty of Allah!"

—*Sura* xciii.

The new prophet did not seem to have any ulterior objects in his mind as he entered upon his mission; fasting and prayer it had begun with; and faith was strong in his mind that Allah would in due time give his blessing. He did not hasten to make converts from idol worship; neither did he hesitate to stand firmly for the principles that he had accepted. Still he went to the mountains and the dark valleys to make his prayers and hold his fasts; and in one of these lonesome retreats he was one day encountered by his uncle, Abu Talib.

"What calls you here," asked the uncle, "and what religion do you profess?"

"I profess the religion of Allah, of his angels, of

his prophets," replied the son of Abdalla—"the religion of Abraham. Allah has commissioned me to preach this to men, and to urge them to embrace it. Naught would be more worthy of thee, O my uncle, than to adopt the true faith, and to help me to spread it."

"Son of my brother," replied Abu Talib, "I can never abjure the faith of my ancestors; but if thou art attacked I will defend thee." Then, turning to Ali, his son, he added: "Mohammed will never lead thee into any wrong way; hesitate not to follow any advice he giveth."

IX.

A PROPHET WITH LITTLE HONOR.

HISTORY is crowded with wrecks of systems of religion which have been outgrown by mankind. The career of the prophet is never an easy one; he may pipe, but his audience may refuse to keep time to the march he entunes. It is comparatively easy to make good and far-reaching plans, but more difficult to carry them out. Least of all is it easy for a prophet to gain a hearing in his own country and among his own kin; among those who have known him as a child, as a boy, as a growing young man, and finally as a man, liable to the inconsistencies of a man, to the irregularities of a man, to the failures to which humanity is ever exposed. Yet this, all of this, is what Mohammed, the unlearned Arabian, the camel-driver of the widow Kadija, attempted. He, who perhaps could not write his own name, set himself up not only as a teacher, but as the only teacher who was to be listened to in the most important matter that concerns humanity, in the regulation of its loftiest duties—its duties to the Most High God. Was this not either the sublimest impudence, or the most wonderful faith?

His effort, if successful, promised to break down

the commercial importance of his native city, to sap the fountain from which his own tribe derived its wealth and importance. He would put a stop to the worship of the three hundred and sixty-five deities of the Kaaba; turn away the thousands of pilgrims that adored them; dry up the demand that for so many years had been supplied by the Koreishites to the innumerable caravans which threaded their devious ways among the wadies and over the deserts from Hadramawt and Akaba, from Nejd and Yemen, toward the house of the sacred black stone that had fallen from heaven in the days of the fathers. It did not require the wisdom of the seer to know that every Koreishite must, of necessity be opposed to such a movement, and opposed to it to the death; they would be ready to cry, in the spirit of the silversmiths of Ephesus, "Great is the Kaaba of Mecca!" for it brought no small business unto them.* The worship of the Kaaba was intrenched not only behind the religious sentiments of hundreds of thousands of men on the Arabian peninsula, but also behind the mercantile interests of the entire tribe of the Koreishites and of all those who earned their honest living in Mecca, no less than in the

* Sir William Muir naturally thinks also of the tumult at Ephesus, and says, in this connection, "There was no antagonism of a privileged class or of a priesthood supported by the temple; no 'craftsmen of Diana' deriving their livelihood from the shrine; but there was the strong hereditary affection for practices associated from infancy with the daily life of every inhabitant of Mecca, and patriotic devotion to a system which made his city the foremost in Arabia. These advantages he would not lightly abandon." "The Life of Mohammed" (ed. 1876), page 67.

interests of those along the line followed by the caravans for thousands of miles, who furnished them supplies and cover.

Kadija was ready to give allegiance to the faith that her husband preached, as she always was to afford him her countenance and support. We have seen that the aged Waraka was likewise prepared to accept all that Mohammed declared. These two, therefore, became the nucleus of a new religion that was afterwards known as Islam, the doctrine of the just man (Moslem), of the striver after righteousness, the doctrine of complete submission to the will of Allah. It was not long after Kadija had communicated to her husband the words of Waraka that he came to the city from his retreat on the mountain-top, and his first duty was to make the tawâf, or seven-fold circuit of the Kaaba. In doing this he encountered Waraka, to whom he gave additional details regarding his vision, and the aged man repeated to him the assurance that he was to be the prophet of his nation, warning him at the same time of the persecutions that he would inevitably be called to suffer. Waraka died soon afterwards, during a conversation with Mohammed.

The prophet now received more frequent revelations through the angel Gabriel; his faith in the one God became firmer, and he boldly determined to endure all the troubles and dangers that might be necessary in announcing the divine will to mankind. To Kadija he fully repeated all the revelations of Gabriel, and she began immediately to practise the rites that were afterwards characteristic of Islam,

Her consolation and advice sustained him when called to bear the railleries and rebuffs of his countrymen.

Gradually and in mysterious words he communicated to a chosen few the same particulars, Ali, the little son of Abu Talib, being naturally among the first so trusted. He was only about eleven years old, but apparently of maturity beyond his years, and he became the companion of Mohammed when he went on his solitary visits to the neighboring hills and valleys, praying with him and imitating his actions. After Ali, Zeyd, a freedman whom Mohammed had adopted as son, became a member of the new body, and then there was a still more important conquest. One Abd el Kaba, instructed in the pedigree of the Koreishites, who exercised a sort of magistracy among them, and was wise in the interpretation of dreams, embraced the faith, and began with fervor the work of making converts. For a reason which will be mentioned, this important man is better known as Abu Bekr, a title which has been interpreted to mean the Father of the Virgin.

These and a few others professed faith in one God; in rewards for the good and punishments for the evil in a future life; in Mohammed as the prophet whom they were bound to obey; they practised purifications by water, and they prayed after forms prescribed. They looked upon Islam as not at all a new religion, but as a revival of the ancient faith of Abraham, and believed that the knowledge Mohammed had about it was derived directly from Allah. This knowledge, when written down or

committed to memory, as it was proclaimed by the prophet, was known as *Al Koran*, the Reading, or the Recitation.

For some three years the faith was professed in comparative secrecy, but then Mohammed determined to give to the members of his tribe generally the good news that he had up to that time communicated to the few. It is sometimes said that this change of method was in pursuance of a divine message couched in these words:*

> Invoke no other god with Allah,
> Lest thou be of the tormented.
> Utter warnings to thy near kinsfolk,
> And lower thy wing [be meek] to the faithful who follow thee.
> If they prove disobedient, say,
> "Verily, I am clear of what ye do!"
> Rely thou upon the Mighty, Merciful One,
> Who seeth thee when thou risest up,
> And when thou fallest among the worshippers,
> Verily, he both heareth and knoweth! —*Sura* xxvi.

For the purpose of enlarging his influence, Mohammed, according to tradition, now invited the Koreishites to a repast,† after which he addressed them, saying: "Never has an Arab offered to his people such precious advantages as I now present to you—happiness in this life and joys forever in the world to come. Allah has commisioned me to call men to him; who among you will join me in the sacred work, and become my brother, my kalif?"

* The sura of which this is but a small fragment is now, however, considered a later revelation.

† Muir treats this feast as "apocryphal," but Caussin de Perceval, following Abulfeda and Desvergers, gives the details substantially as above, without qualification.—*Histoire des Arabes*, i., 360–362.

A profound silence fell upon the whole assembly, until Ali, the youngest of them all, cried out with zeal: "I, prophet of Allah, I will join you!"

Mohammed embraced Ali, and said: "Behold my brother—my kalif; my commissioner. Listen to him; obey his commands!"

A smile ran through the assembly as they witnessed the boyish enthusiasm of the young man, and the kinsfolk withdrew, making light of the whole transaction. They told Abu Talib that he would have to obey the orders of his son,—the height of absurdity. Mohammed was not at all daunted by his want of success in this semi-public effort; he continued to urge his relatives to embrace Islam, though without much greater effect. Soon he became bolder, and began to preach with no uncertain voice the truth that the divinities of the Kaaba were nothing but senseless wood and stones, and then stubborn and bitter opposition took the place of pleasantry. The Meccans came out with zeal in support of the religion of centuries; they railed at the innovator and demanded that he should be silenced. At first they merely pointed at the would-be prophet the finger of scorn, saying: "There goeth the son of Abdalla who speaketh about the heavens!" When converts were made and they began to follow their leader's habit of retiring to the wilds for prayer—when it seemed as though something might possibly come of the preaching, then the unbelievers followed the faithful to these mountain passes and even attacked them; and thus it was that a camel-goad in the

hand of a disciple of Mohammed drew the first blood that was shed in Islam.

Mohammed seemed to be safe under the protection of Abu Talib, and therefore a delegation of the tribe of Koreish appealed to him, saying: "The son of thy brother asperses our religion. He accuses our wise men of folly—our ancestors of errors and impiety. As thou hast not embraced his impious faith, permit us, we pray thee, to exterminate it and punish him for so audaciously attacking a religion which is thine as well as ours."

To this demand Abu Talib gave a courteous but firm refusal, and it was followed by another appeal. A second time the dignitaries of the tribe came to the aged man, and said: "We respect, as in duty bound, thy age, thy personal nobility, and thy rank; but there is a limit. We have asked thee to shut the mouth of thy nephew and thou hast not done it. We can no longer submit to these outrages upon our fathers, our wise men, and our gods. Cause Mohammed to hold his peace or we will take up arms against thee as well as against him; and we shall fight until our party or thine is exterminated!" So saying, they withdrew.

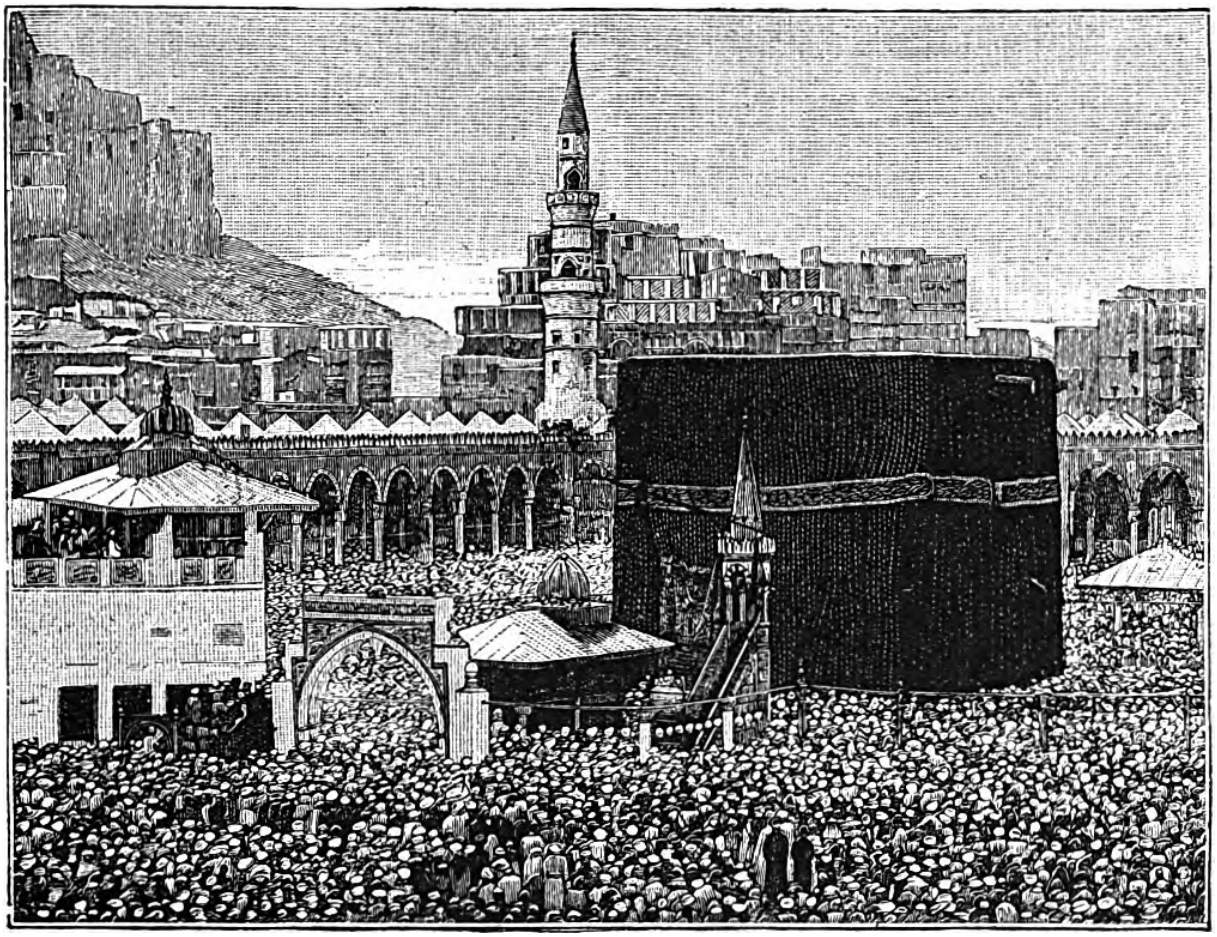
Abu Talib, now alarmed, sought his nephew, and said: "Deliver us from the evils that hang over thee and over our family."

"O my uncle," replied Mohammed, "should the sun descend upon my right hand and the moon on my left to fight against me, and should the alternative be presented to me of renouncing my mission or

of perishing in accomplishing it, I would not waver from my purpose!"

So saying, overcome by the thought that he was to be abandoned by his beloved relative, he turned away with eyes filled with tears.

"Come back, O my nephew!" exclaimed the old man, in turn broken down by emotion; "preach



THE KAABA, SHOWING MODERN PILGRIMS.

whatever doctrine thou wilt. I swear to thee that not for a moment will I desert thy side!"

The opposition did not end here; though, as the sacred period of the year was approaching, hostilities were postponed for awhile. It was at about this time that Mohammed first occupied a building facing the Kaaba belonging to a convert named Arkam, before

which the pilgrims were obliged to pass in the course of their orthodox devotions. It became the meeting-house—the preaching station. There the doctrines of the new faith were expounded and many converts were made, so that the place was called in after times "The House of Islam."

At this period Mohammed was very desirous of engaging the influential members of the community on his side, and it is related that as he was once engrossed in conversation with one of this class, a blind man came to him, saying: "O apostle of Allah, teach me some part of that which Allah hath taught thee." In the earnestness of his desire to enlist the rich man, he was disturbed by the importunity of the poor one, and turned away with a frown. A reprimand was conveyed to him for his respect of persons in one of the suras:

> [The prophet] frowned and turned his back
> Because the blind man importuned:
> And what shall tell thee if perchance he may be purified,
> Or may be admonished and profited?
> Thou dost attend on the rich,
> And carest not for his cleansing;
> But thou turnest from the earnest one
> Coming in the fear of Allah.
> By no means! —*Sura* lxxx.

Mohammed ever after looked upon the blind man with great respect, and whenever he saw him he was accustomed to say: "Welcome to him on whose account Allah reproved me!"

X.

FUGITIVES IN A STRANGE LAND.

THE crowds that regularly came to worship at the Kaaba were now beginning to gather, and the opponents of Mohammed consulted as to how they should reply to the enquiries of strangers about the "prophet" of whom they had heard.

"Let us tell them that he is a seer," said one.

"No," promptly replied another, "he has none of the abrupt and emphatic tone of the seer, neither does he utter his sentences in their rhythmical style."

"Shall we prononnce him a fool?"

"No, his appearance would belie us."

"That he is a poet inspired by an evil jinn?"

"He ignores the language of poetry."

"Shall we call him a magician!"

"He does naught supernatural; he pretends to no miracle nor magic art."

"Nay, verily, his art is simply the use of able words and of an insinuating manner."

"But we *must* give some explanation; we can only say that he is a new magician possessed of unknown charms, by which he brings discord into the family, separates brother from brother, son from father, and wife from husband."

This, then, was to be the policy of the opponents of the rising delusion, as these men desired to consider the doctrines held by the little band protected by Abu Talib. They posted themselves on the roads converging at Mecca; engaged in conversation with the faithful going to the Kaaba; insinuated themselves into their confidence, and warned them to beware of the father of Kasim, whom they described as a dangerous magician who might do them the utmost harm. Thus they frightened some, but, to their discomfiture, excited curiosity in the minds of a larger number. The result was that when the devout pilgrims returned to their homes, they carried to the remotest corner of the peninsula the marvellous stories of Mohammed, the rising prophet, the magician whom no one could understand. The new movement became the staple of neighborhood gossip and of curious enquiry everywhere, and penetrated regions to which no direct effort of Mohammed could have carried it in many laborious years.

The interestwas still more increased by Abu Talib, who published in verse his complaints against the Koreishites who, in their hatred of one of its sons, had forgotten the rights of the illustrious house of Hashim. He vaunted the virtues of Mohammed; painted him as the friend of the widow and the orphan, and said:

"You lie, if you say that we will let the blood of Mohammed flow without bringing to the struggle our bows and our lances; and I swear it by the holy Kaaba!

"If you say that we will abandon him without

strewing the ground with our corpses, yea with the bodies of our wives and of our children!"

When the threatening news that fratricidal war was imminent, reached Medina, then called Yathrib, wise counsels of peace were sent to Mecca.

"Beware of discord," the writer said, "thrust from you the vase of which the water is bitter and dangerous! Remind yourselves of the horrors of past wars among us; he who writes to you knows but too well the horrors of those sad scenes; knowledge is the fruit of experience.

"An honorable man has adopted certain beliefs; to Allah only belongs the right to judge the conscience.

"Continue to practise the true religion; our eyes are fixed upon you.

"Worship Allah and purify yourselves by confidence in the corner-stone upon which the mountains around you rest.

"Did not Allah give you a token of his great power in the day when Abraha was driven back from your very gates without your aid?"

Such counsel had some effect, but it did not restrain the envious Koreishites from giving vent to their feelings as they encountered the prophet in the streets, and he was often saluted with bitter and insulting words, besides suffering personal injuries. These violences and petty exhibitions of spite, led to a reaction in the case of an adversary as determined as any that Mohammed ever had. On returning from the chase one day, Hamza, who was uncle to the prophet, heard of a new insult, and on

the moment he repaired to the Kaaba and to the astonishment of all, presented himself as the champion of the prophet. Advancing to the midst of an excited group, he exclaimed, "Hold! I am of the new religion! Return *that*, if you dare!" at the same time striking one of the company a vigorous blow with the bow that he had not yet had time to lay down. The blow was not returned. Hamza, afterwards known as the Lion of Allah, continued one of the most proud and energetic among the partisans of Mohammed, and the cowed Koreishites began to treat the prophet with outward respect.

Temptation was their next resort. Some of the chiefs came to Mohammed; one of them took a seat by his side, and began with the following words to test the strength of his faith:

"Son of my friend, though thou art a man distinguished by birth, thou dost stir up the land: thou makest division in families; thou castest reproach upon our gods; thou hast taxed our ancestors and our wise men with errors and impiety: but we wish to treat thee with consideration and moderation. Listen to the proposals we have to make, and reflect if it would not be well for thee to accept one of them."

"Speak on," said Mohammed, "I listen."

"Son of my friend," the other began, "be it thy aim to acquire wealth by this thy strange conduct, we will assess ourselves to make thee the richest man of the house of our father Koreish; if it be honor that thou desirest we will make thee our lord, and will plan nothing without thy advice; if it be an evil jinn that dominateth thee, we will bring to thee

the most able physicians, and we will pour out our gold until they cure thee."

"Is it all?" said the prophet.

"Yes."

"Well, now listen to me:—

"In the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate! A revelation from the Merciful One; a book whose signs are explained; an Arabic Koran for a people who understand; a herald of glad tidings and a warning. Most turn aside and listen not, and say, 'Our hearts are veiled from the doctrine, our ears are dull, there is a curtain between thee and us: act thou; verily we shall act.' Say, 'I am but a mortal like yourselves, but a mortal to whom it has been revealed that Allah is one: go make your way straight to him; implore his pardon. Woe to those who follow other gods, who give not alms, and reject the future life."—*Sura* xli.

"Thou hast heard," said Mohammed, after having prostrated himself; "choose what thou wilt!"

Turning to his companions, the one who had ventured to address the prophet exclaimed, "Never did man hear a discourse like this! It strikes home; it is not poetry, nor the language of the magician. Let us leave him; let him work and persuade whom he can; peradventure some man of a strange tribe will take him off for us; but if he succeed, then his power and glory will be ours and the Koreishites will be remembered in the land."

"He has cast his spell upon thee!" they all cried.

"I tell you frankly my opinion," the other replied.

Not satisfied with this trial, the men came a second time to the prophet offering the same temptations, and again they encountered the same haughty refusal. Then they demanded a miracle,—the enlargement of their narrow valley, for example, as an

assurance that indeed Allah spoke through him; but Mohammed replied: "Allah has sent me to preach his law; I am fulfilling my mission, and I tell you again it will be for your good in this world and in the next if ye accept my message. If ye reject my words, Allah will be your judge."

"At least," they urged, ask that an angel be sent down to testify to thy veracity, and to command our faith." "No," persisted Mohammed, "my duty is simply to preach." Never could they force him to attempt a miracle,—that favorite resort of so many false prophets.

"Well, then," they replied, "let your lord make the sky fall upon us; he will make it fall upon you, too, if he wish. All that thou tellest us thou hast heard from a false prophet of Yemen to whom we have never given ear. Know that we shall cease not to repel thy attacks upon our faith until thou or we perish in the strife."

In pursuance of these threats, all were forbidden to listen to Mohammed, and when he visited the Kaaba, the Koreishites took positions at a distance from him. It was at this time that one Abdalla determined to force them to hear the Koran read, and placing himself among them in full day, he raised his voice and cried,

"In the name of Allah, the merciful and compassionate!
The merciful one taught the Koran;
He created man,
And endowed him with speech,
The sun and the moon have their appointed times;
Herbs and trees adore him;
And the heavens, he raised them and set the balance."

—*Sura* lv.

"What is the fellow reciting?" was the cry.

"Passages from the Koran of the proscribed!"

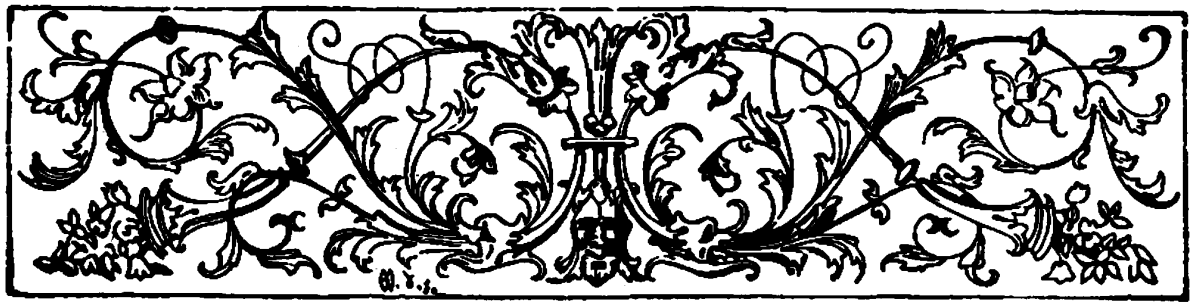
These words were the signal for an attack upon Abdalla, but in spite of the blows that rained upon his face and body, he continued the recital until he was thrown out of the holy place.

"But I forced them to hear me!" he exultantly cried to his friends. The act was not, however, likely to help forward the cause that he had with so much intrepidity espoused, and the persecutions of the Koreishites increased, the disciples were cruelly tortured, and Mohammed, cast down by their sufferings as well as by his own impotence to protect them, encouraged them to seek an asylum in Abyssinia. Accordingly, in the year 615, a number of them crossed the Red Sea and sought the protection of the Christian king.

The intense hatred of the Koreishites followed them even to the strange land, and the exiles were haled before the ruler for examination. The recital of some verses of the Koran affected this dignitary to tears, and he refused to send the strangers back to their tormentors. The Koreishites were downcast at this failure, and still more did they lose heart when they found that Omar, a cousin of Mohammed, and one of the most powerful among the opponents of the new faith, had come out as its equally ardent champion. It was indeed light from a dark cloud to Mohammed, when this strong man cried out in his presence, "Verily, I testify that thou art the prophet of Allah!" and well might he exclaim at the sound of the words, "Allahu Akbar!" ("Great is Allah!")

Still the Koreishites remained firm in their opposition, and the exiles were not free to return to their homes. Mohammed was placed under a ban, and, with his brethren of the children of Hashim, was shut up in a quarter of the city.* A decree was written and hung up on the walls of the Kaaba warning all from having any intercourse, civil or commercial, with the Hashimites. No marriage was to be made with them; no goods were to be sold to them; no stuff was to be bought of them. As the years wore on, the hearts of the idolaters, against whom the prophet preached, were moved to pity for the brethren in distress. From time to time provisions were secretly sent to them, and at last, after they had suffered three years, the ban was dissolved. It is said that it was found that the decree hung up in the Kaaba had been miraculously destroyed, so that at this time there remained only the opening words: "In the name of Allah most merciful!"

* A secluded region, known as the Sheb of Abu Talib. It was formed by one of the defiles of the mountains, where projecting rocks pressed upon the eastern outskirts. The entrance from Mecca was by a low gateway, through which a camel passed with difficulty. Cliffs and buildings separated it from the rest of the town on all other sides. (See Muir's "Mahomet," p. 99.)



XI.

A TWOFOLD CORD BROKEN.

THE prophet had for nine years been offering the blessings of Paradise to all who would accept his doctrines and give up their idols; and, though he now was freed from the ban under which he had been oppressed, his condition was very gloomy. He claimed that his mission was for all the world, and yet he failed to make progress even at home. There were the strong Hamza and the valiant Omar—but what were they and the little band that they led in comparison with the thousands who stood aloof? Sad indeed must have been Mohammed's heart as he walked out into the freedom of his native city and reflected upon the slight progress that his cause had made, despite his confidence in the help and guidance of Allah al Razid, the Rightly Directing.

During all these years of meditation, prayer, fasting, and preaching, Kadija had been the good angel of the prophet. She believed in him and in the truth of his revelations; she was the first who had put her trust in the Allah whom he proclaimed; she strengthed him in all his purposes; through her he believed that Allah sent him comfort; whenever she heard aught that was disagreeable or contradic-

tory, she counselled him to hope; she roused him in his state of lethargy and made his burdens light; she assured him that all the babble of his opponents would come to naught. Now the end of all this had arrived; Kadija died. (End of the year 619.)

Not only did this affliction deprive Mohammed of a trusty adviser, but it reduced him to a condition of comparative poverty. Islam, also, that but for her might never have received its first inspiring impulse, lost in purity, and the revelations that were to form the growing Koran, lost in dignity. The ties of affection and interest that for a quarter of a century had been growing stronger and stronger, were in an instant forever broken. No wonder that the prophet, always open to accesses of uncontrollable emotion, was inconsolable, and mourned as one who could not be comforted. Though he was to have many other wives, he was never to forget the memory of good Kadija, nor was he ever to lose the inspiration of her life; so little destructible is the influence of a good woman. The lover was never lost in the husband, and how much dearer the wife was than the bride, none but those who have felt a stimulus such as she gave can know.

At about this time the sky was again darkened. Abu Talib, the uncle, who, through all the years of obliquy, had stood as a wall between Mohammed and his enemies, was also taken away. Thus, spiritual counsel and temporal aid alike seemed to be passing from him at once. The chivalry of Abu Talib in protecting the prophet when he did not believe in his mission is remarkable, and it is a strong

testimony to the honesty of Mohammed that he could make such an impression on a man of so much force of character. The Koreishites, under the leadership of Abu Sofian, now returned to their annoying attacks upon Mohammed. They cast dirt upon his head in the street, and there was none to take his part. Converts were few, and he saw that if some positive advance were not promptly made, idolatry would soon destroy what little there was of the new faith.

Hopeless as the outlook at Mecca seemed, Mohammed thought that perhaps at Taif some one might be found who would embrace the truth. Accordingly he took the pilgrim-road towards Arafat; he passed through the rocky defiles and dismal wastes to the farther heights; thence he descended into the valley of flowers and fruits with reviving hope—into a region so bright and charming that it was fabled to have once been a part of Syria that had floated off during the deluge. Alas, there were other shrines at Taif, and other gods were firmly fixed in the regard of the inhabitants! The chiefs consented to meet him, but they repelled his arguments with the invincible logic of ridicule.

"Allah is one and I am his prophet," said Mohammed.

"Allah has no other apostle but thee to send to us?" asked one.

"I cannot dispute with thee," said another; "if thou art a prophet, thou art too grand a personage for me to pretend to meet in discussion; if thou art an impostor, I will not deign to talk with thee!"

BAYERISCHE STAATS-

Mohammed left the assembly in chagrin, only to encounter greater indignities from the people without, who, stirred up by the chiefs, followed him through the streets with cries and insults. Slaves and young roughs hurried him along as they made targets for missiles of his legs; and if he crouched down for a moment to protect himself from their bloody weapons, they forced him to rise and drag his lacerated body rapidly along. Then, when his spirit was almost gone, a pitying citizen gave him temporary shelter and a few grapes to strengthen and rest him; and the pursuing crowd allowed him to get out of the city in peace. Scarcely daring to look behind, he hastened towards Mecca, to which city his faithful servant, Zeyd, who had accompanied him to Taif, had gone to seek a place of abode for them both.

In the interval after these exciting scenes, it was not strange that the overstrained sensibilities of the prophet should render him vulnerable to attacks from visions, and accordingly tradition tells us that at this time his nervous imagination showed him certain of the jinns coming to listen to him. He halted at a place where there were an idol temple, a garden, and a grove, and, as his custom was, recited portions of the Koran. Seven, or it may be nine, or even more of the jinns, overheard his words, and they cried: "Give ear!" When the reading was concluded, they returned to their haunts, and preached to their fellows, saying:

"O our people!
Verily we have heard a book sent down since Moses,

Attesting Scripture that went before,
Guiding to truth and showing the right way.
O our people !
Obey the preacher of Allah,
And believe in him,
That he may forgive your sins,
And save you from awful woe."

—*Sura* xlvi.

It was a comfort to the prophet in his low estate to feel that if men would not listen to him, these beings, made of pure fire, were prepared to give adherence to his cause; and thenceforward he was a preacher sent to jinns as well as to the creatures of clay. The vision did not make his way towards Mecca any more hopeful, however, and he was obliged for a time to loiter in his former mountain haunts. At last Mutaim, one of those who had procured the removal of the ban, summoned his sons to his assistance, buckled on his armor, and said to Mohammed and Zeyd: "Enter!" while at the same time he addressed the Koreishites in these brave words:

"O ye Koreish, verily I have given to Mohammed the pledge of my protection; let not any among you harm him."

At this time of gloom (A.D. 620) Mohammed took to wife a widow named Sawda, for whom he had, as it seems, little affection; and also espoused a daughter of Abd el Kaba, named Ayesha, a mere child of some seven years, who became his favorite. Her father now changed his name, as has been already intimated, and was thereafter known as Abu Bekr, usually supposed to signify "the Father of the Vir-

gin." * These were the first of a series of polygamous marriages which mar the remainder of the prophet's career. The actual marriage with Ayesha was postponed for several years, but she was still sufficiently a child to take her babyish playthings with her when she left her father's house.

The time of pilgrimage of the year 621 brought to Mecca strangers of different tribes, and Mohammed sought to ingratiate himself with them in the hope of finding some who would listen to his message and offer the home for his followers, as well as the disciples themselves, which Mecca and Taif promised never to furnish. Among the pilgrims Mohammed discovered twelve persons who had already given their adherence to Islam. They came from Medina and were pleased to have the opportunity of conversing with one whom they had from a distance looked upon as the coming Messiah (Mahdi). Mohammed sat down with them on the hill Akaba, outside of Mecca, and there expounded the duties of his religion; teaching them that they should adore but one god; that they should not plunder; that they should not kill their infants; nor do any other evil deeds; and he assured them that Allah would judge

* Dr. August Müller, in "Der Islam," asserts that this almost universally received interpretation of the new name is erroneous, and that it arose from a mistranslation. Abu Bekr, he says (page 57), was a common name, though he gives no reason for its having been thus assumed. Fathers were commonly called after their sons, and, so far as we know, never after their daughters; but the case of Ayesha was so separated from that of all other daughters, that it is not unreasonable to believe that her father felt it an honor to have his relation to her expressed in his name.

them, giving them paradise if they fulfilled their vows, and burning them in gehenna if they failed. They bound themselves by an oath to follow these simple precepts, though it is to be observed that there was no obligation to take up arms in defence of the cause. The twelve men returned to Medina, but promised to come back again at the sacred month of the following year, hoping that they might then report additions to their little number. In this expectation they were not disappointed; there was a sudden renunciation of idols at Medina, and the Jews even begged Mohammed to send them a teacher to give them instruction in the new faith that had worked so remarkable a change in the community.

XII.

TO THE SEVENTH HEAVEN.

In ancient times men held dreams and visions either in great respect or in terrible dread; they supposed that when the body was asleep, and the imagination active; when the powers by which we receive sensations were awake and the reason and judgment by which those sensations are controlled were asleep, the gods were wont to send to men indications of their will, and revelations of the future or of the remote. Thus in the old book of Job, which contains so much to remind us of the Arabians, Elihu, the young Buzite, says:

> "God speaketh in one way,
> Yea, in two, though man regardeth it not.
> In a dream, in a vision of the night,
> When deep sleep falleth upon men,
> In slumberings upon the bed;
> Then he uncovereth the ears of men,
> And sealeth their instruction,
> That he may withdraw man from his purpose,
> And hide pride from man. . . .
> If there be with him an angel,
> An interpreter, one among a thousand,
> To show unto man what is right for him."

Likewise Eliphaz the Temanite, very likely himself an Arabian, said to Job, in the course of his

calm and elaborate argument for the righteousness of God:

"A thing was secretly brought to me,
And mine ear received a whisper thereof.
In thoughts from the visions of the night,
When deep sleep falleth on men,
Fear came upon me and trembling,
Which made all my bones to shake.
Then a breath passed over my face;
The hair of my flesh stood up:
A form was before mine eyes;
It stood still, but I could not discern the appearance thereof;
Silence,—and I heard a voice,—
'Shall mortal man be more just than God?
Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?'"

Though modern science has carried its researches into every department of creation, and has attempted to ravel all the secrets hidden since the foundation of the world, it cannot yet tell us what a dream is, nor what it means. Psychology stands by the side of the dreamer and says in effect that these mysteries are yet to be explained. It is not a matter of surprise that when Mohammed found that visions were held in respect by the "Men of the Book," as he called the Jews, and considered a means by which their god revealed and warned his people, he should adopt the same view; and accordingly we find him laying some stress upon dreams. He did not know that in the New Testament they are not represented in the same light as in the Old. He had heard of Moses, of Jacob, of Joseph, and of the prophets, to whom so many messages had been sent while their bodies were asleep, and he was not surprised when visions came to him. One occurred at this juncture.

Doubtless, it was pregnant with meaning, and he cried out :

"Praise be unto him, who by night took his servant from the sacred Kaaba to the farther temple of Jerusalem, the precincts of which we have blessed, that we might show him of our signs ! Verily Allah heareth and seeth ! "—*Sura xvii.*

It was a dark night (tradition tells us); such a solemn silence had never been known in Mecca; no owl hooted, no cock crowed, not a cur barked in the streets, nor did a wild beast howl on the surrounding hills. Even the waters seemed to cease their gentle murmurs in the purling well Zem-zem; the wind went down and the heavy atmosphere was not stirred by the slightest zephyr; all nature was smitten with a weird, uncanny hush. At the deep hour of midnight the prophet started at the sound of a voice:

"Awake, thou that sleepest !"

One stood before him with a face as white as snow; his forehead was serene and unruffled; hair of radiant beauty, plaited finely, hung in graceful curls about his shoulders; dazzling brightness made the many hues of his great wings illuminate the precious stones with which his robes were strewed; and gracious perfumes from ten thousand scent-bags filled the air with fragrance.

The wondrous visitor was Gabriel, with whom the prophet was not entirely unacquainted; he proceeded to take out Mohammed's heart, which he washed in a golden vessel filled with the water of faith. He then brought near a new sort of beast called the Borak, a name that signifies lightning. It

had the face of a man, eyes of emeralds as great as two stars; pearls and other precious jewels adorned its wings, which were resplendent with light; and it was so endowed that it understood what was spoken to it, though it could not reply. Mohammed prepared to mount the steed at the instigation of the Angel, but it started back and refused to permit him, until Gabriel interceded; then it gracefully relented, and when the prophet was seated, gently rose into the upper air and with the swiftness of lightning bore him along towards the north. At Sinai, Gabriel bade the rapid beast stop in its course, to permit Mohammed to pray on the spot where God once communed with Moses; at Bethlehem, where Jesus the son of Mary was born, the same duty was repeated. As they rose into the air after the second stop, Mohammed heard a voice crying:

"O Mohammed, tarry a moment, I pray, that I may speak with thee; thou art he to whom of all created beings I am most devoted."

Still the Borak pressed forwards, and soon a second voice was heard crying:

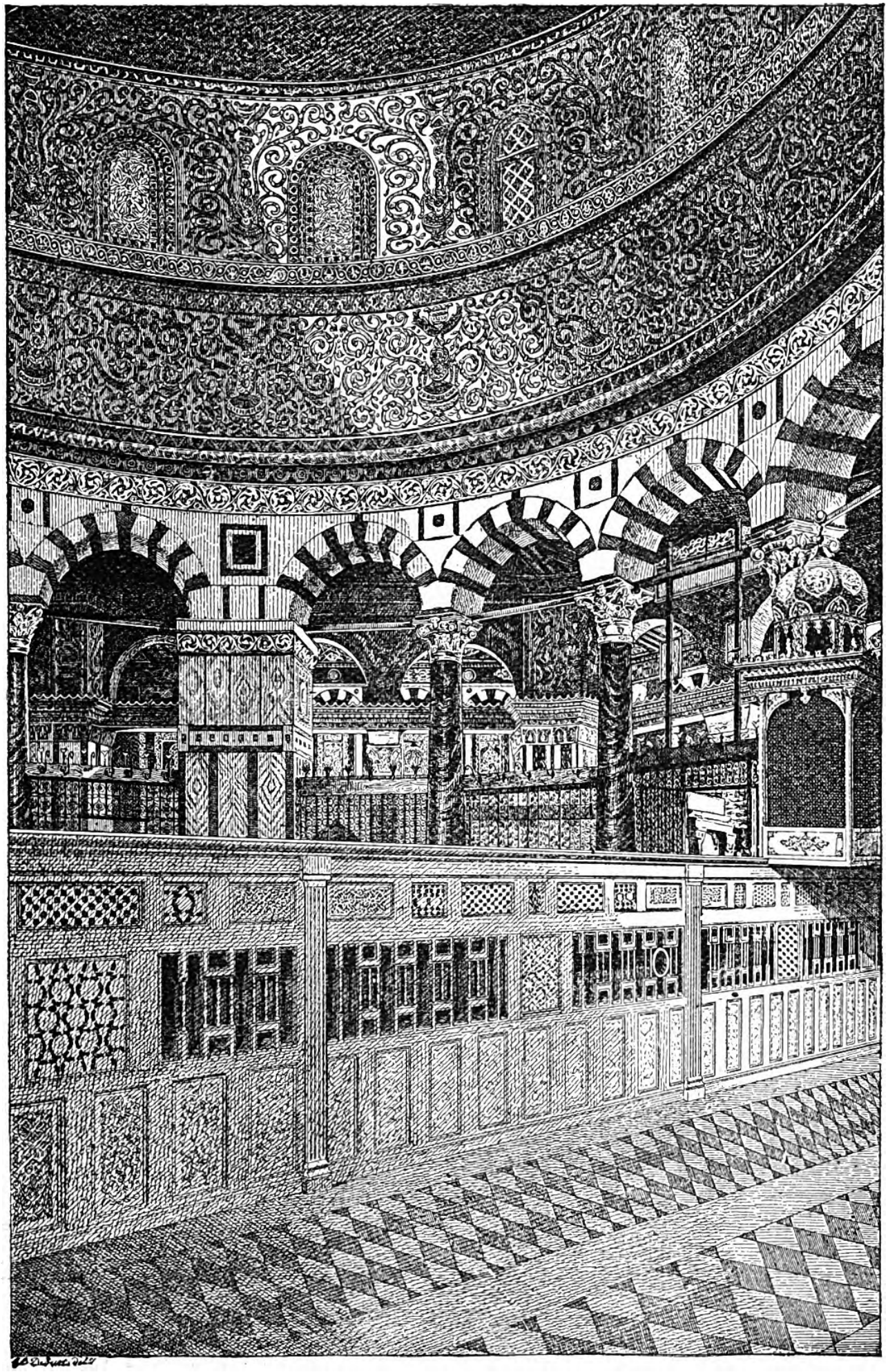
"Stop!"

Mohammed tarried not; and, behold, after a little a damsel of the most ravishing beauty appeared, and, with the most alluring smiles, beckoned to the prophet, uttering the same appealing words; but not for an instant did he deviate from the direct line of his progress. Then Gabriel congratulated him that he had not halted; telling him that the first appeal came from a Jew, and that if he had listened to it, all his people would have become followers of the re-

ligion of Moses. He said that the second was the voice of a Christian, who would have brought him to Christianity; and the third was the appeal of the world, to which had he given ear, his fellow-countrymen would have sought their blessings in the present life, would have cast aside the rewards of eternity, and thus would have been forever lost.

The Borak soon set down her burden at the gate of the temple at Jerusalem, where she was fastened to a ring to which, indeed, prophets had fastened her before, and Mohammed gave himself up to prayer. A ladder of light soon invited him to rise to the first heaven, and afforded him the means. He made the ascent with rapidity by the aid of Gabriel, and the gate was opened. Pure silver formed the walls, and stars suspended by chains of gold afforded light. As the prophet entered, a venerable form approached, and he did him reverence. It was father Adam, who embraced Mohammed, calling him greatest among the sons of men and first among the prophets.

When the wonders of this place had been somewhat examined, the angel and his companion proceeded to the second heaven, which was of steel; and there Noah hailed Mohammed as the greatest among prophets. The third heaven, in which Joseph was discovered, was gorgeous with precious stones and too brilliant for mortal eyes. In it was the angel of death, writing in a book the names of all who were to be born, and blotting out the names of those who had lived their allotted time. As each name was blotted, its owner immediately died. In the fifth heaven Aaron was found, and the angel of



INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF OMAR AT JERUSALEM.

vengeance, with eyes flashing lightning, in whose hand was a lance of flame; fire blazed on every side of his throne, and red-hot chains were not far from him round about.

In the sixth heaven, Mohammed was met by Moses, who wept at the sight, because he beheld one who was destined to lead to Paradise more of his nation than followed the teachings of their prophet among the chosen children of Israel. The seventh heaven was found to be formed of divine light, and tongue cannot describe its glory. Abraham was honored with a chief place there. It was exactly over the Kaaba. Gabriel could go no farther; but Mohammed was allowed to go on through vast spaces to the presence of Allah, who, though veiled, spake to him, giving him many of the doctrines afterwards incorporated in the Koran, and prescribing that his followers should utter fifty prayers a day.

When Mohammed returned to Moses, he assured him that he would find it impossible to lead the Arabian people to make so many prayers, and urged him to go back to obtain a diminution of the number. Allah permitted him to reduce the number to forty; but Moses insisted that humanity was even too weak to bear such a burden. Mohammed returned several times, gaining repeated reductions of the number, until it was left at five, beyond which he refused to ask; and at this number it has remained unto the present day. Daily between dawn and sunrise the faithful muezzin goes to his tower wherever the religion of Islam is professed and cries:

"Allahu akbar! . . . Prayer is better than sleep! . . . There is no God but Allah! . . . He giveth life and he dieth not! . . . O thou bountiful! . . . Thy mercy ceaseth not! . . . My sins are great, greater is thy mercy! . . . I extol his perfection! . . . Allahu akbar!"

At the other appointed hours he likewise utters his well-known but peculiar cry, and in whatever place the Moslem may find himself at the moment he drops into the attitude prescribed for worship and repeats the words that his religion directs shall be said:—

"La illah il' Allah! The Faithful heed,
With God and the Prophet this hour to plead;
Whose ear is open to hear their need."

When Mohammed related this vision to his friends, they advised him to keep it to himself, for, said they, men will surely call you a madman or a liar; but he knew that if he could only find some one to believe in it, his prestige would be increased, and he accordingly determined to publish it and face the ridicule that would be excited. The result was that while not a few railed at him and insulted him, his followers were so firmly bound to him that they never hesitated thereafter to give credence to any thing that he said, and he was enabled to establish an oral as well as a written law, indefinitely drawing upon that which he declared he had seen written in heaven.

At this time Mohammed seems to have changed his plans somewhat; for while he had been, throughout the earlier years of his mission, seeking to establish a religious following only, he now looked for a

temporal kingdom. Perhaps the case is correctly stated thus: Beginning his career filled with an enthusiastic desire to reform his country's religion, he had grown to have a confidence that his aspirations and designs were approved of Allah; then that they emanated directly from him. After years of hard labor in this honest direction, supported by the good Kadija and the strong Abu Talib, he was rejected by many and believed that he had practically failed; then, determined to succeed at whatever sacrifice of principle or consistency, he turned to the pursuit of political advantages. Desperate, indeed, must the outlook have been which caused Mohammed the Faithful One to look to any other than Allah for aid!

XIII.

IN A CAVE.

WHEN Mohammed came back from the land of dreams he must have felt a great shock; his eyes did not open upon walls of gold or silver; no, nor even of steel; there were none of the blazing inscriptions to be seen that his fond imagination had pictured, proclaiming on every wall: "There is no God but Allah; Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah!" No angels filled his apartment with celestial glory; no prophets bowed down to him; scarcely a man showed himself interested in the great mission. He had verily descended from heaven to earth!

He was now confident, but not aggressive; he still preached the unity of Allah, but desisted from very positive onslaughts upon idolatry; he cried out from time to time to the opposers:

"Have ye not heard the story of those who were before you? Apostles came unto them with tokens; but they thrust their hands into their mouths in indignation, and said, 'Verily we disbelieve.' . . . And the misbelievers said to the Apostles, 'We will drive you from our land, if ye return not to our faith!' Then Allah spake by revelation to them. 'Verily we shall destroy the wicked!'"—*Sura xiv.*

"Prophets before thee have been mocked; but they who laughed them to scorn were encompassed by the vengeance that they ridiculed."

"'Nay,' say they, 'a jumble of dreams; nay! he hath forged it; nay! he is a poet; but let him bring us a sign.'"—*Sura* xxi.

"But it shall cause sighing unto the unbelievers,
And it is the TRUTH, the Certain TRUTH;
Wherefore, praise the name of Allah the glorious!"
—*Sura* lxix.

"None wrangle concerning the signs of Allah save the misbelievers. . . . In the fire shall they be baked."—*Sura* xl.

Thus the prophet warned unceasingly; thus he threatened unbelievers with punishments that must have seemed to them of the most frightful severity and the utmost indignity; but the Meccans steadfastly refused to listen. Meantime the year was wearing away at the end of which the twelve from Medina were to return with reports of their success or failure. With them, when they left him, Mohammed had sent Mussab, one of the most able of his disciples, to preach Islam in his name. So successful was the zeal and eloquence of this missionary, and so ready were the people to hear him, that before a twelvemonth had passed he was able to boast of converts in every one of the tribes among the people of Medina. When the holy month arrived, he led to Mecca threescore and ten men who met Mohammed on the hill Akaba, eager to invite him to turn his back upon Mecca, and make their city his future dwelling-place.

Had the Koreishites been aware of this meeting they would have come forth in their strength, and the small nucleus of a kingdom would have suddenly been brought to naught. A night was chosen toward the end of the sacred season, and the converts found the place of rendezvous singly, or by

twos or threes, under cover of the darkness; they "waked not the sleeper nor waited for the absent." The spot where they met was in a secluded glen not far from the road used by the pilgrims, beneath the hill, near the valley of Mina; a place much frequented during the holy season. Even the faithful Moslems of Mecca were not informed of the meeting, so necessary was it thought to keep it secret.

Midnight arrived, and the dim light of the hour showed the forms of the seventy slowly finding their way to the spot. When they were seated, Abbas, uncle of the prophet, the wealthiest of the sons of Abd al Muttalib, rose in the gloom and addressed the spectral assemblage:

"Children of the tribes of Yathrib! Ye know the high rank that this my kinsman holdeth among the sons of Hashim. Though opposed to his new faith, we have supported him, and we will support him; but he hath found favor in the eyes of your people, and is ready to become one of you. Wherefore, consider well the matter: if ye are strong to defend him against all who may rise up to harm him; if ye be men of war, willing to sacrifice your lives and your goods in his cause, well; if not, abandon him now, and you will not be tempted to betray him later!"

"We are men of war," they promptly replied, "and we will be faithful to our promises, though it cost us our lives. Our resolution is taken; it is now for thee, O prophet, to speak, and tell us the conditions that thou demandest for thyself and for Allah."

"Ye will bow to Allah only," began the prophet; "ye will be faithful to the precepts of Islam; ye will obey me; ye will receive my fellows and me; ye will fight for our defence as for the defence of wives and children."

"Our recompense?" they asked.

"Paradise!"

"If we win triumph for Islam, wilt thou not one day quit us for thy native city?" one enquired.

"I will live and I will die with ye!" exclaimed Mohammed, a smile of pride and satisfaction playing about his lips.

"Give us thy hand!" they said, and a confused noise arose from the seventy throats as they swore the second oath of Akaba.

"Hush!" cried Abbas; "spies are upon us!"

Suddenly the party separated, after Mohammed had designated twelve among them as his representatives at Medina, and before the sun had risen upon the valley they were again with their caravan. Their idolatrous companions had not noticed their absence. Soon all were ready for the return to Medina; the seventy burdened with the solemnity of a strong oath, and the twelve dignified by the addition of new responsibilities that perhaps might cost them their lives. The spy, or the chance passer, who had so suddenly broken up the conference, brought his vague information to the Koreishite chiefs, and they sent to the parting caravan to ask if any men of Medina had conferred with Mohammed; if they had promised to take him away; if they had bound themselves to his fortunes, for the Koreishites

declared that they deprecated war with their brethren of Medina. The idolaters among them of the caravan, men of position, hastened to give assurance that they had had no sort of communication with the prophet; and one of the chiefs ventured to add that it was not probable that any among his company had entered into such a bond, for a matter of so much importance would surely have come to his notice.

Further investigation, after the pilgrims had left, satisfied the Koreishites, however, that their suspicions were correct, and they hurried armed envoys after the caravans. Two pilgrims were brought back, and after some maltreatment they were permitted to rejoin their friends; but the gravity of the situation was apparent to the Meccans, and they entered upon a second persecution of the followers of the prophet, more cruel, if possible, than that which had led to the emigration to Abyssinia. As in that instance Mohammed had said to his followers: "Emigrate," so now he commanded them: "Depart unto Medina; Allah hath verily given you brethren there and a home in which ye shall find refuge."

The faithful were not slow to follow their leader's advice; by twos they took their tedious way over the sands to the northward on camels; singly they trudged along the same weary way on foot, if the price of a camel was beyond their ability; and the Koreishites found now a dwelling empty, now a street deserted, now a quarter of the city that was once alive with humanity quiet and forlorn. Still Mohammed, with Abu Bekr, and Ali and their families

did not leave, the prophet thinking, probably, that it was his honorable duty to stand by the last who remained.

Daily Abu Bekr urged Mohammed to start, but he replied time and again that Allah had not given him the command to emigrate. With worldly wisdom Abu made ready swift camels against the day which was sure to come, for the anger of the Koreish was rising. They were, indeed, made more excited by the dilatoriness of their proposed victim. They held a council to discuss the state of affairs and to enquire into the motive for the prophet's strange action. With one voice they determined that some aggressive step should be taken against him; but what should it be? Should they chain him in prison? His friends might deliver him. It was plain that his life must be sacrificed for the good and tranquillity of the city. He could not be exiled, for then he would run through the tribes and excite them to rise and unite against Mecca. It was at last decided that a man from each principal family should be chosen, and that at the same moment all should give a death-blow to the prophet. Thus the children of Hashim would be unable to take vengeance upon any particular family, and would be forced to accept the price of blood, which would freely be offered.

Mohammed, in turn, was informed of the plot (by the angel Gabriel, as the faithful believe), and made his arrangements accordingly. Leaving Ali covered with his own mantle and lying in his bed, Mohammed escaped in the darkness by the back of his

house to Abu Bekr, to whom he explained that the time had come to flee. Abu Bekr had long been hoping for the privilege of accompanying Mohammed when he should leave Mecca, and now he asked it. The prophet graciously gave his consent, and Abu Bekr shed tears of joy at the prospect. Thereupon the two stole away to the south.

While the prophet was thus seeking safety, his enemies went to his house. There they found Ali and asked him where Mohammed was. He replied that he had no knowledge of him; was not his keeper, and supposed that as he had been ordered to leave the city, he had gone. In every direction scouts were sent to search for the fugitives, but no trace of them could be found.

Mohammed and Abu Bekr had walked quickly to a mountain distant only an hour and a half from Mecca, but in the direction away from Medina towards which it was naturally supposed that they would go. There, on the rocky summit, approached by a ragged and difficult path, in the midst of a barren and wild tract, over a portion of which they were forced to drag their bodies on their hands and knees, they found a small, low opening barely sufficient to admit them singly. Into this Mohammed, the prophet of Allah, fresh from dreams of the seventh heaven, and Abu Bekr, the "Second of the Two," as he was afterwards called as a mark of special honor, crept stealthily just as day dawned. Though he had been so exceedingly desirous to have the honor of accompanying Mohammed, Abu Bekr now became fearful lest their place of refuge should

be discovered, and said to the prophet: "What if our pursuers should find our cave? We are but two."

"We are three," said Mohammed; "Allah is with us!"

XIV.

THE YEAR ONE.

WHEN we say that Queen Victoria ascended her throne in 1837, we mean, if we stop to think, that she began to reign 1837 years after the birth of Christ; but if we were to count back to the year one, we should find that at that time Christ was a little boy about four; which shows that there must be some error. The truth is that a mistake was made. It was not until six hundred years after the birth of Christ that the world began to date its letters and documents from that event, and there were no men of science living who could tell exactly the year when it occurred.

We find the same difficulty in regard to all dates and eras. Some nations date from the beginning of the world, but none of them know when the world began; the Jews say that it was 3750 years before Christ; the people of Constantinople that it was 5509 years before, and so on. The Romans dated from the year of the founding of their city, but they did not even know when that event occurred; and now we find the Arabians dating from their year One, but the world cannot tell exactly when it was. We know more nearly about this than we do when

our own era begins, because the Arabian year One was so many hundred years after ours. The farther we go back in our studies of history, the more misty all matters appear. We are not surprised, therefore to find in some books the statement that the Arabian year One began on the 16th of July in the year 622 after Christ, in another that it was the 22d of September, and in another still that it was the 20th of June. It is said to have been the tenth, the thirteenth, or the fifteenth year after the Angel Gabriel had so wonderfully commanded Mohammed to read the marvellous words that he held up before his eyes. The difficulty arises from the fact that the Arabians did not call their months by the same names that we call ours, and did not make them of the same length; so that their years were irregular, and a long calculation is required to establish any date that is given us by them. Such a calculation has been made by a noted French scholar learned in these subjects, and as it seems the best that has yet been offered, we shall accept it, and assume that it was on the 19th of April, 622, A.D., that Mohammed said to his disciples, "Emigrate!" and that it was on the 20th of June of the same year that he and Abu Bekr started for their mountain cave. Dr. August Müller makes it September, however.

The cave, lonely and remote as it was, could not have been a safe place for the two flying men, for the search was active; the scouts actually came once to its mouth, and the prophet and his companion heard their voices. According to the legend Allah had commanded a tree marvellously to grow

up before it, a spider to weave its delicate web over it, and a wild pigeon to lay eggs in a nest that it most quickly made in its branches. The searchers saw the web, and said that of course no one could be in a hole so small and covered up by a screen that would have been broken if any person had attempted to enter. So the danger passed by.

Three days the two remained hidden; a shepherd who tended the flocks of Abu Bekr driving a few goats to the cave every evening, and giving them milk, and one of his sons bringing them food every day that his sister had cooked. The son was also watching the movements at Mecca, and with the food he brought the news of what was going on. He finally reported that the city was quiet; that it was believed the prophet had gained such a start that it would not be worth while to follow him. Then the refugees ventured from their lowly hiding-place, and two camels that had been provided in advance were brought to a spot near the summit, as though they had wandered there; the faithful daughter supplied also more food, and after Mohammed and Abu Bekr had mounted they began the descent of the mountain. When the valley was reached they dared not take the usual road, but struck off to the westward in the direction of the Red Sea, until they found the track of the caravans going to Syria—a track that may well have been familiar to Mohammed at least.

By evening they were well started on the journey, and when they fondly thought that they were beyond the probability of pursuit, they beheld in the distance the approaching form of a man who, tempted

by the sum set upon the head of the prophet, had not yet given up the search. At the sight, Abu Bekr cried out, "We are lost!" Mohammed, on the contrary, said: "Allah will protect us"; and lo, as the grim leader of the troop advanced, his shaggy locks and Esau-like arms giving him a threatening appearance, his charger stumbled and threw his rider into the dust at the prophet's feet! Mohammed took advantage of the moment to make an eloquent appeal, and the warrior, assured that heaven really had interfered, cried out:

"Hold! listen to me! You have nothing to fear."

"What do you wish?" asked Abu Bekr.

"I wish a writing testifying that Mohammed has received me into the number of his followers."

On the instant, the words were written by Abu Bekr on a fragment of bone, and the prophet was again free to pursue his journey. As he went slowly along, often not far from the side of the sea, he and his companion must had many a thought of those they had left behind them. "What of Ayesha?" "How was Ali treated by the Koreishites aftey they found that he had known of the prophet's flight?" "How was Fatima, and were the other daughters safe?" They could only trust that Allah would incline the hearts of the members of their clans to protect the helpless from harm; there was no possibility of getting intelligence from them for a long time, either on the journey or at its end. Passers whom they encountered carried news of their progress to Mecca, however, and it was soon certainly known there that Medina was the place for which the prophet was

bound. As for Ali, he was not molested, and after a few days he started himself for the same city. Neither did the daughters nor the wives of the prophet suffer any inconvenience from the citizens so lately enraged against Mohammed.

Men from Medina were met also by the prophet, and he was encouraged by good news of the faithful, who were said to be anxiously awaiting his arrival. In due time, the travellers turned off to the east, and leaving the vicinity of the sea, took the road towards the mountains which hid from view the fruitful territory about Medina. Only inhospitable granite frowned upon them; the road led up-hill; the summer sun shone out upon them with intensity, and progress was difficult for both man and beast. One of the camels, indeed, broke down under the severity of the journey; the incident bringing to mind the words of the poet:

"'Droop not my faithful camel! Now
The hospitable well is near.
Though sick at heart and worn in brow,
I grieve the most to think that thou
And I may part, kind comrade, here!
O'er the dull waste, a swelling mound,
A verdant paradise I see;
The princely date-palms there abound,
And springs that make it sacred ground
To pilgrims like to thee and me.'
The patient camel's eye,
All lustreless, is fixed in death.
Beneath the sun of Araby
The desert wanderer ceased to sigh,
Exhausted on its burning path!"

Medina lies three thousand feet above the sea

level, and is a contrast to Mecca; instead of the narrow and barren valley, it boasts beautiful gardens and rich foliage; a river flows through its plain, and all around lie green fields, evidences of the generous returns that nature affords there to the labors of the husbandman. Of all the bright spots in the beautiful region, the suburb of Koba, two miles to the south of the city and connected with it by uninterrupted gardens, most attracts the eye. Upon this scene of loveliness Mohammed looked down as he achieved the difficult ascent of the mountains. Perhaps his appreciation of the view was enhanced by sweet but dim memories of the day when his mother, Amina, had taken him to visit his relatives, on which, alas, she had given up her young life! Other thoughts must have been mingled with these sad-sweet reminiscences, however, for in spite of all the assurances he had received from friends, Mohammed could but have doubted what his reception was to be.

He determined not to enter Medina directly, and turned his camel towards Koba, where he alighted beneath a tree. As it was not known that he had lost three days in the cave, his friends had already expected his arrival for some time; and every day they had watched for him on the road a mile or so beyond the city. This morning they had returned from their perch, which was on the rocks west of Medina, but when Mohammed came in sight, a Jew who saw him from his house-top, cried: "He has come! He for whom the Refugees have been looking has at last come!" If the calculations are correct, this was Monday, June 28th. It was not long before the

streets echoed and re-echoed with the joyful cry: "He is come! He is come!" From every quarter the excited people flocked to greet the prophet, who did not fail to bear himself with his usual dignity, and said, very much as modern rulers say when they call upon their people to give thanks:

"O people, show your joy by giving to your neighbors the salutation of peace; send portions to the poor; bind close the ties of kinsmen; pray while others sleep; and thus shall ye enter paradise!"

For several days Mohammed rested at Koba, and then, fully assured that his entrance into the city would be welcome, he determined to take up his abode there on the following Friday. By that time, Ali had arrived, and accompanied him. In the morning he mounted his favorite camel, with Abu Bekr behind him. A host of followers surrounded them; a powerful chief at the head of seventy horsemen acted as guard of honor; disciples took turns in holding a canopy of palm-leaves over his head; one enthusiast unfolded his turban, and, tying it to the point of his lance, bore it along as a standard. Before entering the city limits, the prophet halted at a spot still pointed out as the place of Friday prayer, and preached a sermon, after performing religious services. It was the first of a series of Friday services that has continued to this day.

The inhabitants, clad in holiday garments, streamed forth to welcome the coming hero, calling upon him: "Alight here, O prophet! here is abundance! here is room! here is protection!" Mohammed replied: "Let the camel go free; she will show the place at

which Allah wills that I shall alight." Slowly the triumphal procession moved along among the graceful palms and green gardens of the southern portion of the city; and finally the beast halted and sat down in the eastern district, in a large court-yard containing a few date-trees. By thus giving a supernatural character to the selection of the place, Mohammed wisely avoided all the jealousies that might otherwise have been aroused by his choice of a home. His first duty was to purchase the ground; for he refused to accept it as a gift, though it was urged upon him.

After the triumph, came sober thoughts of what was to be done to ensure the success of the mission to a people who might not all be in sympathy with the faithful. There were among the inhabitants of Medina the band of emigrants from Mecca (Muajerin), and the new converts (Ansars), upon whom reliance might, of course, be put; but there were also many known as the Disaffected, who asked: "For what do we people of Medina throw ourselves at the feet of this foreigner?" "Is it not merely to lose our liberties, and bring ourselves and our children into bondage?" These covered up their animosity for the present, but it was living hatred, and the prophet knew that at any moment that they might think promising, it would break forth into declared and vigorous opposition.

There were also in Medina Jews, with whom the prophet's relations were peculiar; for he had borrowed many things in his faith and practice from them, and professed much sympathy with their re-

ligious views. Some of these were gained over and became faithful adherents of Islam, but others cast ridicule upon the prophet. Against these latter he, in turn, inveighed as rebels, as men judicially blind, as belonging to the generation of those who had killed the prophets in other days, and had rejected the Messiah.

"O People of the Book," he cried, "why do ye disbelieve in the signs of Allah, the while ye witness them? Why do ye clothe the truth with falsehood, and hide the truth that ye know?"—*Sura* iii.

In the second sura, which dates from the first year of the Hejra, the prophet recommended his followers to avoid the use of wine. Four years later he decided that total abstinence was the only safe policy, and forbade both wine and games of chance.

It was no easy task that Mohammed had before him; he knew as well as we do now that a public triumph is often the forerunner of a fall. Still, he continued to profess that he looked to Allah only for support and guidance.

XV.

ISLAM.

LET us stop now at the threshold of the new era and ask what was the doctrine that Mohammed had up to this time preached, and what he was expected to bring to Medina. It was "strikingly new and original," as Professor Palmer has said; for the first time it put before the Arabian the grand conception of one God, the faith of their father Abraham, which the ignorant worship of stocks and stones had long obscured. It was a radical and noble reform that, when the sons of the wind-swept plains gave up feticism for the worship of Allah. The nation was not turned from all evil; they saw, for instance, that Abraham and Isaac and Jacob married more wives than one, and had concubines from among their slaves; and they did not feel called to renounce their like customs; they looked at Christianity through the dim light of obscured tradition, and they did not see its grandeur, nor feel attracted to doctrines in it which they could not understand; they scorned the dogma of the trinity, because it presented to their imagination Allah, Miriam, and Issa (Jesus),—a confused mixture of a divinity which they most fervently worshipped, a prophet whom they never

mentioned without asking blessings upon him, and a woman whom they confounded both with the sister of Harun (Aaron) and the virgin-wife of Joseph.

The doctrines of Mohammed before the Hejra, or emigration to Medina, were simple indeed. They consisted of these articles: Allah is one; Mohammed is his messenger; the dead are to be raised, the good rewarded, and the bad punished; prayer must be observed morning, evening, and at night; alms must be given the poor; there must be honesty in weighing and measuring; truthfulness in words, and faithfulness to wives and concubines; agreements must be strictly kept. It was a religion of works, and there was no looking forward to any other dispensation; it was represented to be complete and unchangeable. There was not, and there has never been since, any Sabbath in which the hours are hallowed and the thoughts confined to holy things.*

There was a paradise parodied from that of the Rabbis, a heaven brilliant with precious stones, watered by rivers, and adorned with the most profuse vegetation, the description of which was interpreted literally by the people, and not in a spiritual sense. It spoke of "princely bowers," of a "land of flowers," of

> "Unfading lilies, bracelets
> Of living pearl";

* Mohammed called his followers to the mosques on Fridays to hear sermons, but they did not intermit their usual occupations the whole day. They had been accustomed to have gatherings on that day before the prophet's time.

it looked to a physical realization of such a picture as that of Damiani:

"Where arise the pearly mansions, shedding silvery light afar;
Festive seats and golden roofs which glitter like the evening star.
Wholly of fair stones most precious are those radiant structures made;
With pure gold like glass transparent are those shining streets inlaid.
Stormy winter, burning summer, rage within those regions never,
But perpetual bloom of roses, and unfading spring forever;
Lilies gleam, the crocus glows, and dropping balms their scents deliver."

In it was a golden city "with milk and honey blest," where was heard the "shout of them that feast"; the inhabitants walked over "pathways of gold," and gazed upon walls decked with jewels rare; but the Arabians who sang of such things did not cry, with the "heavenly homesickness" of a Faber or a Meyfart—

"Hark! hark! my soul! Angelic songs are swelling
O'er earth's green fields and ocean's wave-beat shore;
How sweet the truth those blessed strains are telling
Of that new life where sin shall be no more!"

"Jerusalem! high tower thy glorious walls,
Would God I were in thee!
Desire of thee my longing heart enthralls,
Desire at home to be:
Wide from the world outleaping,
O'er hill and vale and plain,
My soul's strong wing is sweeping,
Thy portals to attain!"

We hear no cry from them like that of George Eliot:

"Oh may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence; live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
Of miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge men's minds
To vaster issues!"

On the contrary, the paradise of Islam was a place of sensual ecstasy, where the pleasures of the present life were to be intensified a hundred-fold; where things spiritual and pure were no more cultivated than they are in the mortal state of existence. The conception was a sad mixture of good and evil, and was even more sensuous than the paradise of the Rabbis. The four wives permitted to the Moslem here were multiplied many times in that blissful abode, and were immensely increased in beauty; in this respect the materialism of the rabbinic conception was both aggravated and debased. In it were

rivers of water without corruption, and rivers of milk the taste whereof changes not, and rivers of wine delicious to those who drink, and rivers of honey clarified; and there shall they have all kinds of fruit and forgiveness from Allah.—*Sura* xlvii.

Faces on that day [the Day of the Overwhelming] shall be comfortable, content with their past endeavors, in a lofty garden wherein they shall hear no foolish word; wherein is a flowing fountain; wherein are couches raised on high, and goblets set down, and cushions arranged, and carpets spread.—*Sura* lxxxviii.

It does not appear that Mohammed was a man given over to sensuous enjoyments; on the contrary, his personal habits were very simple, and he described this heaven of earthly delights during that

happy period when his love for Kadija was one of the stays of his life. He must have simply set down the particulars of the future life as he found them described by the magi and the Rabbis; probably curtailing their excesses, for he never made his religion an easy one. He permitted indulgences that would be criminal for us in the present age of the world; but he found them unquestioned, practised from immemorial time in Arabia, and he certainly restricted them on many sides.

There is a singular difference in the suras, as we examine them, in regard to their length, a difference which has a significance. If we divide them into sections chronologically, we shall notice that the earlier utterances are exceedingly brief, and the later sometimes very long.* The first twenty-two, according to one good arrangement of them, average but five lines each; the next score average sixteen lines; the fifty following, seventy-seven lines; and the last twenty-two average one hundred and ten lines. The earlier utterances possess the characteristics of rhapsodies, and seem to be the real cries of a spirit deeply in earnest; they are impetuous and wild. The latest are narrative, argumentative, descriptive, and denunciative; they sound like the words of a man who has a system to support before an opposing people.

At the beginning of his teaching Mohammed professed simply to recall the Arabs to the service of the

* Tentative chronological arrangements are given in this volume. The translation of the Koran by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell gives another.

God of Abraham, with no relation to any previous religion, though he said that there had been Moslems in the past, meaning, probably that there had been men fully resigned to the will of Allah. When he became personally acquainted (though perhaps indirectly) with the contents of the sacred books of the Jews and Christians, he announced his own as a confirmation of them, saying:

"This is the Book which we have sent down; follow it then and fear; lest haply ye may obtain mercy! Lest ye say 'The Book was only sent down to two sects before us; verily we care not for what they read.'"—*Sura* vi.

At a later period, Mohammed rises superior to the former revelations, and claims that he is the last of the six prophets,—the others being Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Issa, or Jesus,—and that his coming was foretold in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Those whom we have given the Book know him, as they know their sons; and O ye people of the Book! our apostle has come to you to explain much of what ye had hidden in the Book, and to pardon much.—*Sura* v. Issa, the son of Mary, said: "O children of Israel! verily, I am the apostle of God to you, verifying the law that was before me, and giving you glad tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, whose name shall be Ahmed!"—*Sura* xli.

At first he thought that there were three revelations of God's will, the Law, the Gospel, and the Koran:

We believe in Allah, and in what has been revealed to thee, and to Abraham, and to Ishmael, and to Isaac, and to Jacob, and the tribes; and what was given to Moses and Issa, and to the prophets from Allah; nor make no distinction between them.—*Sura* iii.

Finally, he makes the Koran rise above the others, declares that its original was in heaven, and becomes

himself antagonistic to both Jews and Christians, and appeals to no previous revelation.

The simple duties prescribed by Mohammed at first were not essentially added to during the period previous to the emigration to Medina, though the number of daily prayers was at the time of the vision of the seventh heaven increased to five; but the people of Mecca had been raised from a condition of spiritual torpor to a state of active discussion of matters that before had possessed no interest for them; their feelings had now indeed become so lively that the entire community was rent into factions.* Several hundred persons had taken so deep an interest in the preachings of the new teacher that they were willing to bear persecution and exile for the sake of them. But a few years since sunk in superstition and practising all sorts of vice, they now prostrated themselves five times a day in prayer to an invisible Allah, whom they had before known only imperfectly at best, and were honestly trying to follow the precepts that they believed had been sent directly from him to them. The change is comparable to nothing but to that arousing of men which followed the first preaching of the Gospel.

The prophet himself draws the picture of his faithful people, in these words:

> The servants of the Merciful are they who walk upon the earth softly, and when the ignorant address them, reply, Peace!
>
> Those who pass the night adoring the Lord, prostrate and standing;

* Mohammed declared that the large number of sects in Islam was a proof of its truth.

And who say, "O our Lord, turn from us the torment of hell; verily, from the torment thereof there is no release; verily, it is an evil abode and place."

Those who invoke not another god with Allah.

They who testify not falsely; and when they pass by vain words, pass it by with dignity.

They who when admonished by the signs of the Lord, fall not down as if deaf and blind;

Who say, "Grant us wives and children such as shall be a comfort to us, and make us models unto the pious."

These shall be rewarded with high places in Paradise, for that they were patient; and they shall meet therein salutation and peace, to dwell therein for aye: a fair abode and resting-place!—*Sura* xxv.

Seemly unto men are the pleasures of women and children; fair are the hoarded treasures of gold and silver; and of horses well-bred, and cattle and corn-fields. Such is provision for the life of this world; but Allah, goodly is the home with him.

Shall I tell you of better things than these? For those who fear, are gardens with their Lord, beneath which rivers flow, and in which they shall abide for aye, with pure wives and grace from Allah, for Allah regardeth his servants who say, "Lord, we believe, pardon our sins and keep us from the torment of the fire." They are the patient, the truthful, the devout, they who ask pardon as each day breaks.

"With the exception of Christianity," says Barthélemy St. Hilaire, "founded on the Old Testament and the Gospels, with all their marvellous consequences, the world can boast no religion that may properly be compared with Islam, or that merits even a remote comparison with it." Dr. Weil says that though we cannot regard Mohammed as a true "prophet," we are not at liberty to deny him the merit of having presented the most gracious doctrines of the Old and New Testament to the Arabians at a time when they were enlightened by no

single ray of faith, and that therefore he must be considered in some sense commissioned by God. The Count de Boulainvilliers said a century and a half ago, that outside of the Christian revelation there is no doctrinal system so plausible as Islam; none so reasonable, so comforting to well-doers, and so terrible to sinners.

XVI.

THE SWORD IS DRAWN.

MEDINA, which had up to this time been known as Yathrib, now received the name, by which it has been called ever since, The City. One of the first duties of Mohammed was to begin the erection of a place of worship, and his plans for this were of the simplest nature. Trees were cut down at the place where his camel first knelt for him to descend; walls of earth and brick were built; and trunks of palms were used to support a roof, which was framed of their branches and thatched with their leaves. In this structure, which was of ample proportions to accommodate a good congregation, the prophet was wont to preach, standing on the ground and supporting himself against one of the palm-trees, until, after a time, a pulpit was constructed for his use.

The Jews, when they prayed, were accustomed to turn their faces toward the temple at Jerusalem, in accordance with the prayer of Solomen at its dedication. When they could, they entered its sacred precincts, but if they were at a distance, they followed the example of the prophet Daniel,—opened the windows of their houses towards the city of

David and uttered their petitions. At first, Mohammed established no rule in this regard; but after the emigration to Medina, he advised that the example of the Jews be followed, perhaps as one of his conciliatory measures. It was not long before he saw that he could strengthen his position more by giving his followers a distinctively national *kibla*—that is, "place towards which to look in prayer," (*kabala*, to be before), and it is said that he prayed to Gabriel for direction. The archangel referred him to Allah, and soon he received the revelation recorded in the second sura:

> We have made you a middle nation to be a witness against men. . . . We appointed the kibla to which thou didst turn, only that we might know him who followeth the apostle, from him who turneth upon his heels. . . . We have seen thee often turn thy face about towards heaven with doubt; but we will surely give thee a kibla that thou shalt like. . . . Turn, therefore, thy face toward the sacred temple; wherever ye be turn your faces towards it. . . . From what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face toward the holy kaaba; for this is truth from Allah; neither is he regardless of what ye do. . . . Every sect hath a certain quarter to which they turn themselves, but do ye strive to run after good things.

In the midst of a public service, Mohammed raised his face towards Jerusalem, and twice prostrated his body in that direction, when he abruptly recited the substance of the above words. He immediately turned himself towards the south, and the entire congregation followed his motions. Thus the link that bound Islam to Judaism was forever broken. Never, in all succeeding ages, have Moslems turned their faces towards the Jewish capital

in worship. So great has been the influence of a momentary motion of the prophet's body!

It was at this period that the formal call to prayer was settled as it exists at the present day. Before this time the muezzin had simply cried, "To public prayer!" but this seemed to lack the formality that was demanded by the increasing importance of worship at Medina, and a discussion arose on the subject. Some suggested the bells of the Christians; others, the trumpet or the timbrel; and some the lighting of fires on high places; but the "true" way was at last revealed to a citizen in a dream. He met in his revery a man carrying a bell, and asked him to sell it for the purpose of calling the Moslems to worship. The man said, "I will show you a better mode," and proceeded to repeat the form of words now used. The citizen went to Mohammed immediately, and the prophet saw that the vision was "from Allah." He directed his negro muezzin to carry out the suggestion. Accordingly, the servant went to a high building by the side of the new mosque, and watched for the break of day. When the first ray of sunlight greeted his eyes, he raised his voice and roused the slumberers around by the now familiar words, uttered at the top of his powerful lungs. Thus another time-honored custom was begun.*

It was not long after his arrival at Medina that Mohammed formally married the child Ayesha, to whom, as we know, he had been espoused while at Mecca, and she became his favorite. As he added wife to wife, he built new apartments for each one

* For some of the words of this call, see page 110.

adjoining the mosque. These were of the simplest description; plain cabins not more than twelve feet square, of sun-burnt brick, thatched with palm-branches, and so low that one might reach the roof with the hand. The mode of living was as simple as the apartments. Ayesha said: "For a whole month together we did not light a fire to dress our food, which was only dates and water, unless some one sent us meat. Our people never had wheat bread two days in succession." Between the door of Ayesha's cabin and the entrance of the mosque there was an ante-room, used by the prophet for his evening devotions; but save this he had no apartment of his own; his time was divided between his wives. The plain mattresses were laid upon the ground, and the mud-daubed walls were hung with skins used to hold water, milk, or honey. Ayesha's wedding-feast was provided with dates and olives; and her portion comprised but two skirts, one headtire, a pillow of leather stuffed with palm-leaves, two armlets of silver, a drinking cup, a hand-mill, two water-jars and a pitcher. This simplicity was agreeable to the demands of one who had grown up as a camel-driver, and who loved to commune with nature in her wildest aspect on mountain-tops; of one who could rest his weary head upon a stone in a rocky cave; but it did not suit the taste of the more wealthy followers of the prophet, whose luxurious living became more and more a contrast to the habits of their leader.

In his efforts to strengthen his position at Medina, Mohammed formed a brotherhood between those

emigrants who had come from Mecca (Muajerin) and the faithful who had always lived in the City of the Prophet (Ansars). One of the new converts was linked with one of the old in a bond more close than that of kindred, for they were to be mutual heirs in preference to blood-relations; and thus the strangers were comforted, and in their days of homesickness and illness were made calm and resigned. It is to these times and this brotherhood that reference is made in the eighth sura.

Remember when ye were few and weak in the land, fearing lest men should do you harm; then Allah sheltered you and gave you victory; providing you with good things. . . . Verily those who believed and fled and fought for the faith with their bodies and their goods, and they who have given refuge, they shall be called next of kin to each other.

This was an expedient that served its purpose until the new faith and its followers found themselves established in the land, when it gradually gave way, and its rules were abrogated. The prophet had, however, become convinced that not brotherhood and love alone were to be successful in establishing his mission; that more forceful weapons were required in the battle that was before him.

We have noticed that there was a fundamental difference between the two covenants of Akaba; the second requiring of the disciple that he should support the claims of Islam with the sword, a demand that the first did not make. It did not command aggressive warfare. There were not wanting other warnings that a change had begun in the prophet's mind. Mohammed declared that the

different prophets, who had been sent by Allah, illustrated his various attributes: Moses showed his providence and clemency; Solomon his wisdom, majesty, and glory; and Issa his righteousness, power, and knowledge; but that none of these attributes had proved sufficient to conquer unbelief; that even the miracles of Moses and Issa had been ineffectual. "I, therefore, the last of the prophets," he exclaimed, "am sent with the sword! Let the champions of the faith of Islam neither argue nor discuss; but slay all who refuse to obey the law or to pay tribute. Whoever fights for Islam, whether he fall or conquer, will surely receive the reward. The sword is the key of heaven and hell!"

If we look into the Koran, we find many tokens of this uncompromising spirit.

Fight in the cause of Allah! . . . Kill them wherever you find them, and drive them out from whence they drive you out; for temptation is worse than slaughter; but fight them not by the sacred mosque until they fight you there; then kill them.—*Sura* ii.

Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged; and verily Allah has power to help them.—*Sura* xxii.

When ye meet those who misbelieve, then strike off heads, until ye have massacred them, and bind fast the bonds. . . . And those who are slain in the cause of Allah, their work shall not go wrong.—*Sura* xlvii.

Ye shall be called out against a people endowed with vehement valor, and shall fight them, or they shall become Moslems. . . . Allah promised you many spoils.—*Sura* xlviii.

The spoils are Allah's and the prophets.—*Sura* viii.

After Mohammed left Mecca, its trade much increased on account of the quiet that the town enjoyed. The prophet watched this extension of traffic with interest, especially because he had now deter-

mined upon conquest. The well-laden caravans that went thither promised to furnish him objects for attack and plunder, as well as opportunity to gratify his revenge against his kinsmen who had thrust him from them. When we reflect upon the Arab character, and remember that Ishmael and his descendants had always been predatory in their habits, we can understand the reception that these new plans met. Now, there was some thing in the prophet's mission that they could understand, some thing that directly appealed to their national tastes; there was a promise of activity and of the gratification of their baser appetites, and they flocked to his standard with enthusiasm.*

Laden with precious merchandise, the long lines of camels carried from Taif and Mecca produce valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly, and when they made their way through narrow ravines, or passes, among the mountains, they were always open to attack from predatory bands of small num-

* "Mohammedanism grasped the sword not to destroy all infidels and pagans, not to force men to become Moslems at the sword's point, but only to proclaim that eternal truth, the unity of the God-head, throughout the whole extent of the then known globe."—Syed Ahmed Khan Bahador (London, 1870), "Essay" iv., p. 30.

On the other hand, another Moslem, Seyed Ameer Ali, a descendant of the prophet, in his "Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed," London, 1873, says: "We deny altogether that Islam ever grasped the sword for the purpose of proselytizing. Islam siezed the sword only in self-defence, and held it in self-defence. Islam never interfered with the dogmas of any moral faith, never persecuted, never established an inquisition." Nevertheless, the sword *was* drawn, and the Moslems grasped it with willingness.

bers, if the assailants were bold and determined. Sometimes almost every citizen of Mecca would be financially interested in a single caravan, the rich investing of their abundance and the poor trusting their slender savings to the responsible person who took the direction of the venture. It may very readily be imagined, therefore, with what interest the people of the prophet's birthplace now looked towards Medina, as they sent out their caravans to Syria, and reflected that their exiled enemy was watching their movements with a vigilant and determined eye.

Before the first year had much more than half passed by after Mohammed's emigration to Medina, he sent out one of his uncles to intercept a Meccan caravan returning from Syria, and an encounter was only prevented through the intervention of a chief friendly to both parties. A month afterwards another expedition went out, but the Koreish were too strong for it, and nothing was effected. A few weeks later, in the autumn of 623 A.D., still a third party stole from Medina, by night, as, indeed, the others had, in search of an expected caravan conducted by Abu Sofian; but the Meccans escaped the trap that was laid for them. To each of the leaders of these parties the prophet had presented a white banner, but the emblem of his authority failed to ensure success; he therefore determined to take the lead himself, and actually went forth on several other expeditions, which proved, however, no more satisfactory.

The first predatory enterprise of much note was

sent out during a sacred month, when all devout Arabians held that war was forbidden. In spite of the holiness of the period, Mohammed gave the leader instruction to go to the valley in which he had preached to the jinns, there to watch for an expected caravan, of which he might "bring tidings to him." The caravan was encountered and pillaged at Nakla, one man being killed in the struggle (Nov., 623). The scandal that this "sacrilegious" act aroused, led Mohammed to pretend to be angry with the leader, and he refused to share the booty; it led also to an addition to the Koran, found in the second sura:

> They will ask of the sacred months, and fighting therein. Say, Fighting therein is grievous, but to obstruct the way of Allah, and to deny him and hinder men from the Kaaba, and to turn his people thence, is a greater sin in the sight of Allah. Tempting is more grievous than killing.

While the angry passions were rising at Medina, there seemed to be in contrast quite a Christian spirit at Mecca; and we read of no acts of retaliation nor bloodshed on the part of the Koreishites. In the month of January, 624, scouts brought information to Mohammed that the caravan of Abu Sofian which had eluded the vigilance of his forces the previous autumn was then on its return from Syria with the extraordinary train of a thousand camels bearing rich produce of the north. He determined that it should not again escape, and gathering a small but sufficient force, comprising seventy fleet camels, and troops of exiles from Mecca embittered by their troubles there, and bodies of Medi-

nan converts, each under its own banner, he sallied forth with his usual confidence. Taking the direction of Mecca for a certain distance he then turned towards the Red Sea, and encamped in a fertile spot watered by the brook Bedr, where he waited for the Meccans.

Meantime, the Holy City had been thrown into the direst confusion by the appearance of a messenger from the caravan, who, hurrying at the utmost speed of his camel, had rent his garments before and behind to show that he was the bearer of alarming news. As the citizens crowded about his kneeling beast, he cried, in tones of the utmost intensity: "O ye Koreish! O ye Koreish! Mohammed pursues your caravan. Help! Help!" Nothing more was needed to stir the city throughout its length and breadth; thousands and thousands of precious gold were at stake; the competence of many, the whole living of more. The sword had been unsheathed in the valley of the jinns, and blood had been spilled; there must now be repression; there must be revenge, or this Mohammed would ride over Mecca to its ruin. Seven hundred camels and a hundred horse, well equipped, were promptly on the road to the northward; but it was soon learned, to their great thankfulness and surprise, that the rich caravan had, by the sagacity of Abu Sofian, been able to escape from its danger. Should the force go on, and punish the Moslems? Pride and hate both cried out: "Forward!". and on the army rushed.

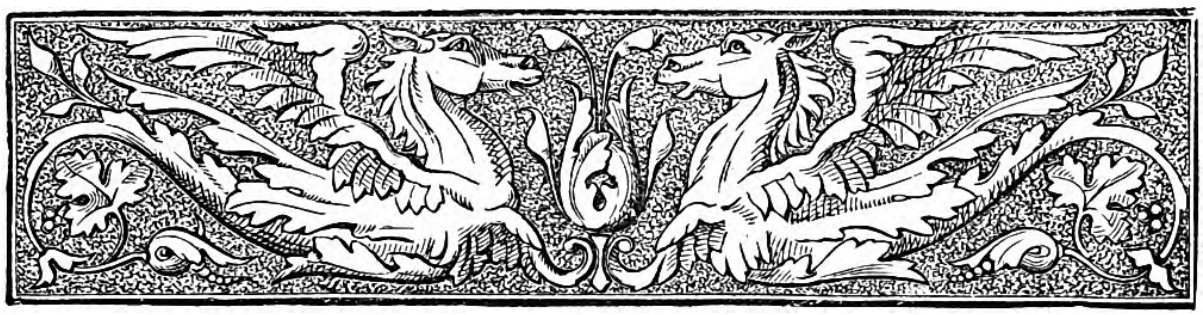
Mohammed, on his part, pressed southward with

equal enthusiasm, crying to his men: "Go forward, with the blessing of Allah! He hath promised the army or the caravan. Methinks I see now the battle-field strewn with the dead Koreishites!" The careful prophet did not neglect, however, to prepare a swift camel near his head-quarters with which he might himself escape to Medina in case of need. There was no such need; the forces meeting near the fountain of Bedr, rushed together with sounds of trumpets, and the Meccans, though many more in number than their opponents, were discomfitted. Mohammed declared that Gabriel with three thousand angels had taken part in the conflict, and that the victory was from Allah, to whom, and to whose prophet, the spoil belonged. The battle was the most celebrated of all in the history of Islam, and of great historical importance. The booty was not large, because the caravan had escaped; but there were, nevertheless, arms and camels, clothing and carpets, all of which were collected on the field, and, after a fifth part had been set aside for the prophet, the remainder was divided equally among his followers. Those who had been engaged in the thickest of the fight felt aggrieved that the others received as much as they, and a "revelation" was found necessary to settle the disaffection. The law of the division of the spoil was accordingly established as follows: "Know that whatsoever thing ye plunder, verily one fifth thereof is for Allah and the prophet, and for the orphan and the poor and the wayfarer."

There was joy in Medina, when the swift dromedary of Mohammed appeared at the place of prayer,

and a messenger announced that the Koreishites had been overthrown; small children, we are told, were excited with the dreadful triumph of the warrior, and ran about the streets crying out in exultation over the fallen enemy. In Mecca far different feelings were excited; sullen hate was aroused, and the natural grief for the lost that rose unbidden was stifled by the determination to have bloody revenge. "Weep not for your slain," they cried, "bewail not their loss, neither let the bard mourn for them. Show yourselves men,—heroes! Let not wailing and lamentation diminish your hate for Mohammed and his fellows. They will scorn us and make us the butt of their laughter if we expose to them our weaknesses! We shall again go forth, and verily, we shall have revenge!" Thus, for days, even for weeks, the spirit of hate sustained the people; but the time came when nature could bear the strain no longer, and all the wild demonstrations that mark the expression of Oriental sorrow broke forth in every quarter, for there was hardly a house in which kindred did not mourn their captives or their dead. In every quarter except one,—for Hind, the stern wife of the leader of the caravan, gave no expression to womanly feeling; she declared: "Not till ye again wage war against Mohammed and his fellows, shall tears flow from my eyes! If tears would wash away grief, I would now weep, even as ye; but it is not so with me!"

"What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield!"



XVII.

VICTORY FOR MECCA.

MOHAMMED would have the Moslems believe that angels fought for them, and that Satan took the part of the Koreishites; but it was not the being of the "unconquerable will" that Milton painted; it was a jinn of the utmost cowardice. "Iblis bepraised their works, and said: 'There is no man who can prevail against you this day, for, verily, I am your sworn brother!' When the two troops came face to face, he quickly turned his heels and cried: 'Verily, I am quit of you; verily, I see that which ye do not see; verily, I fear Allah, for Allah is keen to punish!'" The arrant coward saw the thousands of angels, and left his confederates to their fate!

By such a fiction Mohammed impressed his followers with the belief that Allah and the angels were on their side, that Iblis and the evil jinns were with their enemies; that it was the sword which was to prove the truth of his mission. Victory in battle was his only trust henceforth; his former dependence upon measures of peace had left him; no seer is needed to tell what the harvest is to be. The Koreishites had been defeated not because they were enemies of the people of Medina, but because

they were opposed to the religion of Allah; and this fact which the prophet impressed upon all about him had its lesson for those who still refused to adopt Islam, and there were not a few such among the influential citizens besides the Jews. The first among them to suffer was a woman who composed some couplets that went from mouth to mouth in Medina after the battle of Bedr, in which the folly of putting trust in one who had killed chief men among his own tribe was denounced. In the dead of night, surrounded by her little ones, this woman was stricken by the dagger of an assassin, who was the next day applauded by Mohammed in the mosque for his hideous deed. Some weeks after this another versifier met death in the same way, at the direct instigation of the prophet, who had been again stung by readily remembered poetry. This time it was a pervert to Judaism, and his taking off gave those of his adopted faith new cause to dread the anger of Mohammed. The denunciations of the Jews in the Koran were followed by their persecution, exile, and slaughter, until they were all removed, and the suras contain no further notices of them.*

* "There were no police, or law-courts, or even courts-martial at Medina; some one of the followers of Mohammed must therefore be the executer of the sentence of death, and it was better it should be done quietly, as the executing of a man openly before his clan would have caused a brawl, and more bloodshed and retaliation, till the whole city had become mixed up in the quarrel. If 'secret assassination' is the word for such deeds, secret assassination was a necessary part of the internal government of Medina. The men must be killed, and best in that way."—"Studies in a Mosque," by Stanley Lane-Poole, page 69.

While these and other petty affairs disturbed the tranquillity of Medina, the wrath of the Meccans was only smouldering. The chief, whose caravan had been saved before the battle of Bedr, had vowed vengeance. In the spring following that event he collected a small force and made an ineffectual raid towards Medina; was chased by Mohammed, and ingloriously hastened homewards despite his terrible threats. Each of the two hundred fleet horsemen who accompanied him had carried at his saddle-bow a sack of meal as his provision for the raid, and when the leader fled each threw off his sack, from which circumstance the affair has been called the Battle of the Mealsacks.

Mohammed was no longer a simple prophet, but had become a triumphant chieftain, and his utterances changed to those of a law-giver and king. His simple artlessness of living and behavior did not desert him, however, in spite of the wishes of some of his followers that he should assume some thing of the royal magnificence of the other rulers of the East. When one spoke to him on the subject, he replied: "Art thou not content that thou shouldest have the portion of futurity, and they the portion of the present life?" While he spoke thus, he took no delight in unnecessary asceticism, and taught that Allah was not a friend of those who wantonly harm their bodies; he permitted the weak and sickly to omit fasts, and to shorten the prescribed prayers; and when he wished any necessary thing that money or power could obtain, he supplied the innocent demand. He required the customary reverential salu-

tations from his subjects, placing in the thirty-third sura an order to that effect.

About a year after the victory of Bedr, the prophet was in the mosque at Koba, when a breathless messenger startled him by suddenly appearing at his side and placing in his hand a sealed letter from his double-faced uncle Abbas, who informed him that the hero of the Battle of the Mealsacks was again prepared to engage in hostilities. The caravan that the Meccans had saved had been set aside, and a fund provided with which a powerful army was equipped and provisioned; the Bedawins around had been called upon to unite in a determined onslaught upon the threatening Moslems of Medina; and even then the northward march had begun. Kindling their fury by the help of verses chanted to the music of timbrels by women who had, like Hind, the Tearless One, so loudly demanded war, they cried out for vengeance as they marched; they devastated fields, and drove the frightened farmers before them in search of places of refuge. Fugitives brought to the prophet exaggerated estimates of the vastness of the horde that was approaching, and Medina was, indeed, alarmed. Counsel was divided; the advancing army seemed, however, to loiter by the way, and the time was employed in discussion; the result was that Mohammed decided to gird on his armor and take the field outside the city.

After the Friday prayers had been said in the afternoon, the people assembled before the mosque armed for the strife; and with all the circumstance he could command, the prophet issued from his

apartment, his sword hanging from his girdle, a shield slung over his shoulder, his head covered with a helmet, and his body with mail armor. Now was he a warrior indeed; but his people, who had urged him to take the step, seem at the last moment to

HELMET OF AN ARABIAN PRINCE OF EGYPT.

have feared lest harm should come to him, and asked him to listen to the dictates of his own judgment. Haughtily he replied to their request, that it did not become a prophet to lay off his helm when once he had put it on, until Allah had decided between

him and his foe. "Wait on Allah! Only be strong and he will send you the victory!"

Three miles to the northeast of the city the seared and jagged flanks of Mount Ohud rise from a bare and sloping plain like masses of iron; and on its western side, the prophet took up his position, after tracing his path through the fields and gardens that lay between. It was Saturday morning and as daylight enabled the army to descry the hosts from Mecca in the distance, the faithful muezzin raised the usual call to morning prayers, and the prophet gave his followers the example of prostration in solemn worship. When this was over, preparations for the onset of the enemy were completed, and the struggle was begun with single combats, Mohammed starting the cry "Alahu akbar! Great is Allah!" which was repeated throughout the army in one overwhelming shout whenever a Moslem champion gained advantage. Meantime the frenzied women of Mecca urged their brethren forward with song and timbrel:

"Daughters of the brave are we;
On carpets step we softly:
Boldly advance, we smile on you!
Turn your backs, we shun you,
Shun you with contempt!"

The combat became general; the prophet's men felt that they had made an impression on the enemy, and lost some of their impetuousity; the enemy rallied; the cries arose from the Moslems: "Amit! Amit!" "Death, death!" "Help is from Allah! Victory is ours!" the enemy staggered for a moment; then a stone struck out a front tooth of the prophet; an arrow wounded his cheek; Hamza, the

Lion, was cut down; the cry resounded among the rocks: "The prophet is slain! Where now is the promise of Allah?" The Moslems were flying; the Meccans cried: "War hath its revenges; Ohud succeeds to Bedr!" "Allah is ours; he is not yours!"

The Moslems found out too late that their leader was not killed; they rallied; but the day was lost, and there was nothing to do but collect the wounded and bury the slain. The prophet, in his impotent anger, cried out: "Let the wrath of Allah burn against the men who have besprinkled the apostle's face with his own blood!" The road to Medina was thronged with men and women hastening to nurse the wounded and search for the dead; the sister of Hamza among them, called upon the prophet for her brother: "He is among the people," he replied. She found the mutilated corpse; sat by it and sobbed; Fatima came and wept also; and Mohammed vowed deeper vengence against his enemies. When prayers were said over the closed graves, the population, by twos and by threes, sadly and silently found their way back to the desolate and downcast city.

If the victory at Bedr had been a mark of the approval of Allah, what was the defeat at Ohud? Here was a question that demanded answer at the prophet's mouth. The people murmured at the loss of prestige; the Jews ventured to join in the reproaches; the faithful were at their wit's end; but the assurance of the prophet was equal to the emergency.

Be not cast down, neither be ye grieved; victory will yet come, if ye are true believers; if ye are wounded, verily, your enemy is wounded also; these battles we make to alternate among men, that

Allah may know the believers. . . . No soul dieth but by the permission of Allah, written down for the time appointed. . . . And truly Allah had already made good unto you his promise, what time ye cut them to pieces by his will, until ye showed cowardice and wrangled and rebelled. Amongst you are those who love this world, and amongst you are those who love the next. . . . Verily those of you who turned the back on that day when the two armies met, it was but Iblis who made them slip. . . . But Allah hath forgiven them, for Allah is forgiving and compassionate.—*Sura* iii.

We are to picture to ourselves the venerable prophet coming before his faithful people as the spokesman of the great Allah with utterances like these, which he delivered amid the deep hush that fell upon them as they dropped their business and politics and assumed the attitude of worshippers in the area about the sacred mosque. With the precision of veterans and the solemnity of devotees, they follow every motion of their leader; kneeling, prostrating, almost trembling, in unison, as the awful words purporting to come from the throne of Allah fall upon their ears. No scoffer scoffs within this enclosure; fear dominates every heart; hell's fires blaze before timid eyes at the magic words of the prophet; Paradise discloses its glories as his voice conjures up its well-known delights; life sinks into insignificance as eternity opens; and the Moslems walk from the precincts awe-stricken, willing to stand or fall with the apostle; to them there is nothing worth accepting,—joy, wealth, paradise, death, life, except at his hands, for to them at the moment he is the vicegerent of the governor of the universe. Thus the mystery of eloquence and the power of mind enables the prophet to give some thing like the effect of victory to a defeat.

XVIII.

THE BATTLE OF THE DITCH.

THE importance of breaking down the Jewish power, to which reference has been made, was so great in the eyes of Mohammed, that he devoted an entire sura to a single victory which he gained over the Nadhir, a people whose rich possessions were distant three miles from Medina. Before attacking them, the prophet sent an expedition against a tribe that ranged over the great central tract of Arabia known as Nejd, and silenced them; he crippled another by ordering the assassination of its chief; and then felt prepared to turn to the Nadhir, cutting off their supplies and putting their chief city in a state of siege (A.D. 625). It was not long before they were forced to offer to abandon their lands to the prophet, and when the proposition was accepted, they gladly emigrated to Syria, carrying with them their household goods, their doors, their very lintels. Singing to the music of tabrets, they joyfully took their pilgrim-way towards Jericho. The prophet likewise sang:

That which is heaven and that which is in the earth celebrates the praises of Allah: he is the mighty and the wise. He it is who drove out the People of the Book, who believed not, to join the for-

mer exiles. Ye thought not that they would go forth; verily, *they* thought that the fortresses would defend them against Allah, but Allah came upon them from a quarter unexpected and covered their hearts with dread. They ruined their houses with their own hands and with the hands of the believers; wherefore, take warning, ye who can see. . . . They set themselves up against Allah and his prophet; and whoso opposeth Allah—verily, Allah is keen to punish!—*Sura* lix.

Not long after the defeat at Ohud, Mohammed took an additional wife, who was, like most of his others, a widow. She had a son, to whom the prophet promised to be a father. Not yet satisfied, he soon afterwards become enamoured of Zeinab, the handsome wife of Zeyd, his own adopted son, and she proved as ambitious to share the prophet's home as he was to take her to wife. When Zeyd suspected that Mohammed wished his wife, he did not become indignant, but very willingly divorced her, with the proper dutifulness of a prophet's son, and an apartment was built for her adjoining those of Ayesha and the others. The sense of propriety of the people of Medina was scandalized by this union, not because they saw the prophet's harem growing too rapidly, but because of the relationship that existed between Zeinab's first husband and her second. It was to allay this feeling that Mohammed "received" the revelation contained in the thirty-third sura, to the effect that Allah does not consider adopted sons real children, and that no offence ought to be taken because Zeyd's wife was joined to Mohammed after Zeyd had voluntarily divorced her. This "revelation," which was in reality an act of legislation, seems to imply an advance or change

in the Arabic idea of relationship, from the *tube* (son by adoption), to individual (son by blood).

This revelation made the favorite Ayesha not unnaturally solicitous lest Zeinab should pride herself overmuch on the fact that she was given to the prophet directly by Allah, while none of the other wives could boast such an honor. Zeinab, on her part, was not slow to perceive the advantage that she had in this respect. It may be noted here, incidentally, that Zeyd's is the only name of a follower or contemporary mentioned in the Koran.

It was two or three years before the time of this marriage (about 624), that Mohammed gave his daughter Fatima to Ali to wife, and the marriage is one to be remembered, because from it sprang a line of great importance in this history. Ali, of whom Mohammed was wont to say: "I am the city of wisdom, but Ali is its door," was son of Abu Talib; but had been brought up in the household of the prophet, and was, as we know, one of his first disciples. Fatima was daughter of the beloved Kadija, and was one of the "four perfect women" mentioned by the prophet.*

The attention of Mohammed being at this time directed towards the subject of domestic life, he made many regulations in regard to it. As he would not have fallen in love with Zeinab had he not accidentally seen her without her veil, it was now prescribed that all of his wives should veil themselves from the

* At about this time (625) Mohammed declared wine and games of chance prohibited (*Sura* v.). He had, however, soon after coming to Medina, recommended abstinence from them (*Sura* ii.).

gaze of the world; that when walking out they should even conceal their ornaments; that they should not harbor feelings of jealousy the one for the others, but should be content with whatever share of his society the prophet should give them. The faithful were warned not to enter the apartment of Mohammed except by special invitation and not to indulge in familiar discourse there; indeed, they were not to venture into any dwelling without first asking leave and offering salutations to the family. These are but a few of many such like "revelations" as to conduct made in the suras.

The wives of Mohammed were henceforth each to be honored with the title "Mother of the Faithful," and it was declared that it should be unlawful for him to add to their number, even though their beauty might please him. The command is still repeated in the daily service; but it did not prove adequate to its avowed purpose at the time it was promulgated, and has of course, no relevancy whatever to present affairs.

At about this time, there was a temporary estrangement from Ayesha, but a suspicion upon which it was based was removed by a passage in the twenty-fourth sura, and the persons who had calumniated the lady were scourged. Ali did not accept the decree establishing the innocence of Ayesha with cordial promptness, and thus won her inalienable enmity which led to important results years after the prophet's death. The occasion was embraced to lay down rules regarding the relations between husbands and wives, which though much needed in

a community where men were permitted more companions than one, were, notwithstanding, powerless to insure agreeable relations between the members of a household. The mother of Ayesha struck the evil directly when she tried to comfort her at the time of her calumniation: "It is not often that a woman, who is beautiful, married to a man who loves her, is free from scandals raised by less favored and less loved wives." Patience is the only resource of such, and Ayesha cried out, in the bitterness of her soul: "Allah is my helper!"

Military operations against the tribes about Medina were frequent, and in the spring of 627, the Meccans, who were always nursing their wrath and preparing themselves to break forth against their exiled prophet, gathered a large army, comprising fifteen hundred camel-riders, and reaching a total of some ten thousand men, to march towards Medina. Mohammed saw that he could not successfully go out against such a force, and that there was no alternative but to fortify his position and await the onset. He erected earthworks and dug a ditch, himself carrying his share of the earth, and joining in the song with which the workers endeavored to cheer themselves. The Arabs had up to this time been unaccustomed to any style of warfare that allowed such a mode of defence as this, and the Meccans taunted Mohammed with his pusillanimous resort to a foreign artifice unworthy of a free-fighter of the desert.

Medina was surrounded and put in a state of siege; there was great alarm, and much actual suffering for

a brief period during which inconsequent skirmishes marked the days as they passed, but neither side gained any positive advantage. The Meccans were encamped on the heights to the east of the town and in the lower part of the valley; and as the Koran expresses it,

> The enemy came down upon you from above and from below; and the sight of the eyes was obscured; and your hearts came up into your throats; and ye imagined concerning Allah strange imaginations; there were the believers tried, and made to quake with a severe quaking. . . . Remember the favors of Allah towards you, when hosts came to you, and we sent against them a wind and angels.—*Sura* xxxiii.

Strategy was worth more than force at this time, and Mohammed endeavored with success to create a sense of mutual distrust among his enemies. The forage of the Koreishites and their provisions were falling short, and they became tired of the ineffectual siege. At this juncture, there arose one night a very penetrating and chilly wind, which upturned the tents, extinguished the fires, and made the besiegers only too happy to hasten away. The prophet was quick to teach his followers that Allah had interfered, and the streets of Medina were the next day filled with rejoicing throngs, uttering the pæans of victory.

Among those who had taken the part of the Koreishites, was a tribe of Jews, the Koreitza, and Mohammed now hastened to take vengeance upon them. The People of the Book, were difficult to suppress, and after every punishment that they received, seemed to start up in a new quarter to harass the Moslems. Siege was laid to the town of these latest disturbers, and the privations of the inhabitants

soon made them sue for peace and, finally, surrender themselves. After the travesty of a trial, the men were executed by the hundred with the most heartless deliberation, and the women and children sold into slavery in exchange for horses and harness. Mohammed seems to have imitated at this time the directions laid down in the Old Testament, as at Deuteronomy xx., 18, where the Children of Israel were instructed not to leave one of their heathen enemies alive, but to utterly destroy them. In the thirty-third sura the circumstances of this butchery are made the subjects of thankfulness, and it is vaunted as done by the direct decree of Allah.

The Arab at this time was a devoted believer in spells, enchantments, and the evil eye, and still is, and Mohammed was as superstitious in this respect as any of his countrymen. In the chapter entitled "Of the Daybreak," he exclaims:

> I seek refuge in the Lord of the Daybreak from the evil of what he hath created; from the evil of darkness when it covereth the earth; from the evil of women blowing upon knots; and from the harm of the envious when he envieth.—*Sura* cxiii.

The customs of the people in this respect are illustrated by the case of a necromancer, who, just before the land was cleared of the Jews, injured the prophet as was believed, by mystic enchantments. He took a small waxen image, wound it about with hairs procured from the prophet's head, pierced it with eleven needles, tied eleven knots in a bowstring, blew upon each knot the breath of the mouth, wound the cord around the effigy, and finally sunk it in the bottom of a well and placed a stone over the mouth. Mo-

hammed began immediately to suffer from a languishing illness, against which no remedies were efficacious until the incantation was discovered. Day by day he wasted away, but the ever-ready angel Gabriel came to his rescue, and revealed the mystery. Ali discovered the image in the well; Mohammed repeated over it the eleven verses that form the last two suras of the Koran, which were at the moment "revealed" as a charm against similar influences. It is soberly recorded that as each verse fell from the prophet's lips, a knot loosened itself from the bowstring, a needle was consequently released, and strength returned to the victim. As the last needle fell away, Mohammed rose in health and vigor, as though he had himself been bound by the cords and pierced by the needles. These two chapters have been since that time often used in the same way; they are written out and worn as amulets, or committed to memory and repeated as charms. It is said that Mohammed visited the well in which the effigy had been hidden, and found in the date-trees about it resemblances to devils' heads! He caused the well to be destroyed. Whether having any foundation in fact or not, this tale well illustrates the superstition prevalent in Arabia at the time, a superstition that it does not become us to be surprised at when we reflect upon the persecutions of so-called "witches" in England and America that history records with horror, persecutions that took place centuries after the days of the unlettered prophet of the desert.

XIX.

EXILES IN AN EMPTY CITY.

MOHAMMED'S position was now strong; the Koreishites of Mecca had been baffled in their attempts to overthrow his power at Medina under circumstances which added to the acuteness of their disappointment; the Jews had been terribly harried and finally cast out, and there seemed to be no great impediment to the extension of Moslem power to regions beyond. These facts made it all the more irritating to Mohammed that he should be shut out of his native city and not permitted even to see the sacred Kaaba nor to perform there the devotions which had for so long been the right and the privilege of his clan. The six years that had elapsed since last he had been inside of Mecca had been a period of mental anxiety and of strife, and now he longed to show anew his devotion to the ancient faith, or to punish those against whom he had launched his unfruitful denunciations in the name of Allah, for obstructing the approach of the pious worshippers.* In his visions, which came with some of the ancient fervor in view of these thoughts, he actually entered the sacred city, and performed the

* See the second Sura, quoted in part on page 147.

ceremonies of the pilgrim; when he awoke, he determined with the strong will of the first years of his mission, that he would make the dream a reality.

The sacred month of the year 628 (assigned for the Lesser Pilgrimage) was approaching; in it war was prohibited, and Mohammed determined to make his attempt then, because he thought there would be less opposition to his enterprise than at the time of the Greater Pilgrimage. Every precaution was taken to ensure the expedition against the opposition of the Koreishites: the number of pilgrims was made as large as possible by inviting the people around who had not taken the prophet's part to join in the ceremonies, in which, though idolators, they had the same national interest as the Moslems. Every effort was made to give a peaceful appearance to the caravan; while the numbers were sufficient to enable it to protect itself, if necessary, against any military demonstration whatever. Seventy camels were prepared to be taken for sacrifices; the appropriate mark was set upon their right sides, their necks were hung with ornaments, and their heads were turned toward the holy city. Mohammed prepared himself for the occasion by permitting his hair and nails to grow; he refrained from all ordinary luxuries, renounced the perfumes which he so much enjoyed; dressed himself in the ihram, and appeared before his people, when ready for the journey, armed only with the sheathed sword of the pilgrim.

The Koreishites naturally doubted the peaceful nature of this unusual demonstration; but they feared to oppose it with force, though absolutely

determined to forbid the entrance of the would-be pilgrims to their city. Mohammed, on his part, was not willing to precipitate hostilities, and when one of his spies reported that the enemy was encamped not far from him, clothed in panther's skins, emblematic of their fixed determination to fight to the last like beasts of prey, he turned from the usual route and passed with difficulty through an unfrequented defile over a rough road to the verge of the sacred territory. All at once the march was arrested by the refusal of the prophet's camel to proceed farther. It was the same beast that had carried Mohammed from Mecca six years before; it was the same which had marvellously refused to enter Medina and had pointed out at Koba the spot for the mosque; and any intimation from her was certain to be considered almost equal to a revelation that could not lightly be ignored, even though, as in the present instance, it might be the evident result of fatigue.

"The beast is weary and balky," said the Moslems.

"No, she is neither balky nor weary," said Mohammed, "but the hand that held back Abraha in the Year of the Elephant, and kept him from entering Mecca, now restrains her: if the Koreishites make any demand of me this day, I shall grant it, by the name of Allah! Let the caravan halt!"

"There is no water here, O prophet," they exclaimed; "how can we halt?"

Without a word, Mohammed ordered that an ancient well, then covered with sand, should be opened, and to the surprise of all, water bubbled up so rapidly that those at the top of the well were able to draw it with ease.

It was not long before negotiations were opened with the Meccans, and Mohammed sent positive assurances that he had only peaceful intentions. One of the envoys of the Koreishites reported at Mecca that he had been at the court of Persia and had visited the proud emperor at Constantinople, but that he had never seen such respect for a sovereign as the Moslems showed towards Mohammed. Did he wash his hands, the water became in their eyes holy; did he pare his nails, the scrap was caught up as a sacred relic; did a hair fall by chance from his locks, a follower was certain to throw himself upon the ground to secure it; should a person but touch his beard, it was accounted an act of sacrilege.

An envoy of the prophet was, during the negotiations, detained at Mecca longer than was expected, and Mohammed, suspecting treachery, gathered his followers beneath an acacia, and called upon them one by one to pledge by a solemn oath, confirmed by striking hands with him, that they would stand by the absent one, as well as by the cause, to the death. The Pledge of the Tree, as this is called, is mentioned in the Koran—"Allah beheld with satisfaction the believers who gave thee their hand in the oath of allegiance beneath the tree" (Sura xlviii.),—and all who took part in the ceremony, which excited both religious feeling and warlike spirit of the strongest sort, were proud to refer to it in after days

The trial of this loyalty, so romantically asserted, was unnecessary, for the envoy soon appeared safe and sound, and the Koreishites, fearing the result of a battle, announced their willingness to enter into a

treaty under which future pilgrimages should be permitted, though they refused to allow the prophet to enter their city at that time. Mohammed, equally apprehensive, willingly refrained from pressing forward, and the sura entitled "The Chapter of Victory" was revealed:

Verily, we have given thee a manifest victory! That Allah may pardon thee the sin that is past and that which is to come. . . .

The desert Arabs who were left behind shall cry, "Our wealth and our people occupied us; ask pardon then, for us. . . . Let us follow you!"

Allah it was who restrained the hands of the Koreishites from you and your hands from them, in the mid-valley of Mecca, after he had given you the victory over them!

It was not this sort of a "victory" that the Moslems had looked for, and they were sadly disappointed when Mohammed returned, after sacrificing the devoted camels, and performing as many of the duties of the pilgrim as were practicable at a distance from Mecca; though he was right in feeling that he had achieved an important act. He had been recognized by those who had thrust him out, as a power to be feared and treated with, and this filled his mind with the audacious ambition, inspired by ignorance of the greatness of the project and by an almost insane confidence in his own apostleship, to summon all the nations of the world to bow to Islam.

In this spirit, Mohammed caused a signet ring to be engraved with the words "Mohammed, the Apostle of Allah," and commissioned messengers to visit the courts of Chosroes, king of Persia, whose son Siroes, after murdering his father, was soon to con-

clude a treaty of peace with the Roman Empire; of the Roman emperor Heraclius himself, then returning from his Persian campaign; of the rulers of Abyssinia, Syria, and Egypt; and of the Christian tribes of Yemen. These sovereigns cared little for such a message from a son of the desert of whom they could know little, and they treated it lightly, probably thinking that it did not merit the honor of serious discussion.

The Moslems did not recover from their dissatisfaction with the "victory" over the Meccans, and Mohammed found that he must in some way appease the longing for plunder that he had roused, but had not satisfied. He looked earnestly for some act of aggression on the part of a surrounding tribe which might give him excuse for a raid, but none occurred, and at last, after months of waiting, he determined to make an attack upon the fertile lands of some Jews at Keibar, living at a distance of three or four days' march to the northeast of Medina. Fortified towns dotted their pleasant land, and nature smiled upon them as they cultivated their farms which they had occupied from ancient times, though surrounded by a people to whom permanence of habitation was almost unknown. They were with good reason implacable enemies of the Moslems, and they labored unceasingly to stir up against them the Bedawin tribes with whom they had an ancient alliance. Against these people Mohammed set out with a powerful force. One by one the strongholds fell before him, until at last he found himself confronted by a fortress more redoubtable than any that Moslem

arms had ever encountered. It seemed probable that it could resist all efforts that might be made against it; the siege was long, and it was not until the command had been given to Ali, son of Abu Talib, that success was attained (A.D. 628). The usual shedding of blood followed, though the carnage was not so horrible as on some other occasions, and the rich booty—rich beyond all former experience—was divided among the happy warriors. It included money, jewels, herds of camels and flocks of sheep; honey, oil, dates, grain, and every sort of treasure that the Arabian valued; and all the murmurs that the so-called "victory" over the Meccans had given rise to were turned into glad acclaim.

Now the Moslems were in a proper state of mind to enjoy the promised pilgrimage to Mecca; and as the time approached elaborate preparations were again made (A.D. 629). Sixty camels were driven in advance, the company comprised several hundred more persons than had formed the caravan of the previous year, and each was armed as agreed, with a sword only; though as a precautionary measure, a large quantity of armor was carried separately. Mohammed well understood the treacherous character of the Arabians, but the precaution he took was not necessary at this time, for the Koreishites adhered faithfully to the terms of the treaty. Instead of interfering, the inhabitants with one accord left their homes, climbed the hillsides, and sheltered themselves beneath tents and other temporary dwellings, looking down as opportunity permitted, to see the strange ceremonial that was performing in the streets

they had deserted. When before had there been such a scene? When since? When did a populace go out of their houses to permit a body of religionists to whose observances they were hostile, enter in and occupy, not their streets and their houses only, but their very temples and their altars?

The devotees,—let us look at them. There is the prophet himself, dressed in the ihram, proudly riding into his native place, still upon the faithful camel that bore him northward seven years before to the place of refuge. Can we imagine his thoughts, as he remembers his flight with Abu Bekr, and the three days in the mountain cave? Behind him are the many followers, shouting the pilgrim-cry of exultation as their long repressed feelings are allowed free utterance, and hurrying to perform the tawaf, imitating the rapid motion of their leader, that the lookers-on may know that their vigor has not been lessened by their journey. The prophet touches the holy black stone gently with his staff as he passes it, and the crowd cry aloud,

"There is no god but Allah! He hath upholden his servant and exalted his army. He alone hath discomfited the hosts that were confederate against him!"

The words echo and re-echo through the little valley, and the host is newly stimulated by the sound of its own voices. The next day the prophet worships in the Kaaba until the hour of the mid-day prayer, when his muezzin ascends to the place appointed, and vociferates the Moslem call to worship, and Mohammed conducts the service in the form familar at Medina.

For three full days the Meccans adhere to their promise, but then they warn Mohammed that the allotted time is over, and that he must return from his holy mission. The prophet endeavors to conciliate the chief men towards Islam, but in vain; they will have none of it. Still, Mohammed saw enough to convince him that the Koreishites did not hold their former power, and he knew that his own prestige was much enhanced by this pilgrimage, both in Mecca and at Medina. When he reached his home, at the opening of April, 629, he felt stronger and more confident than ever before.

If the Koreishites as a tribe, held aloof from Mohammed he was successful in winning the allegiance of two important men among them,—Kalid, a warrior famous for his prowess and strategy at the battle of Ohud, well known as the "Sword of Allah," and Amr, who was destined to carry the standard of the prophet into foreign lands. These men came to Medina in June to accept the rising faith, and their acquisition to the cause gave it a new strength at Mecca also, where it now took a place by the side of the ancient worship, as something to be mentioned with respect if not with reverence.

XX.

THE MOTHER OF CITIES CONQUERED.

THE letters that Mohammed wrote to foreign potentates cannot be said to have accomplished much in bringing him and his mission before the world, though the time was rapidly approaching when the Moslem should be known everywhere. It was very little like what the world calls war, to fight as the Bedawins fought,—to meet an enemy on the open desert where there was no embarrassment from walls and ditches; but this was the the sort of warfare that the Moslems had practiced up to the eighth year from the Hejra. Little did the prophet know of the tactics of the Romans, and of the implements of war used by those great nations of the earth of which he had only heard enough to embolden him to summon them to submit to Islam.

Among the envoys that Mohammed had sent to call the nations to obedience was one who went to Bostra, on the road to Damascus, near the eastern borders of Palestine, familiar to the prophet since his early experience in the caravan trade. Syria was at the time under Roman dominion, though probably law was not very well established anywhere in its limits. This envoy had fulfilled his

mission, how effectually we are not told, and was returning to Medina, when he was arrested and put to death at Muta, a place three days' journey east of Jerusalem, by order of a Christian ruler of the tribe of Ghassan, who represented the emperor Heraclius. Such an indignity was not to be suffered without remonstrance, and Mohammed, nothing daunted by the prestige of Roman power,* hastened to raise an army of some three thousand men, the command of which he confided to his beloved Zeyd, supported by a number of valiant soldiers, among whom were the two latest converts from Mecca (September, 629).

Gaily and with confidence, the little army set forth from Medina, the prophet accompanying it a short distance and expressing his farewell in the words, "Allah shield you from every harm, and bring you back in peace, rejoicing, with much spoil!" The enterprise was no secret, and word was speedily carried to the representative of Heraclius in Palestine that the Moslems were on the march. The former petty raids of Mohammed had probably served to unite the inhabitants of the region in some league for mutual defence, and it was not difficult to collect an overpowering force to repel the invaders, consisting, so some writers assert, of one hundred thousand men. The Moslem authorities add that Heraclius himself led the army, but that seems hardly credible.

* The prophet had no doubt been diligently watching the course of the war [between Rome and Persia] which is once, at least, directly alluded to in the Koran. [Sura xxx.] He could but see the immense advantage which he gained by finding the two greatest powers of the world utterly exhausted by the tremendous struggle."—E. A. Freeman, "History and Conquests of the Saracens," page 24.

When Zeyd reached the extreme southeast limit of Palestine, on the borders of the Arabian desert, he learned of the reception that was prepared for him, and called a council of war, in which some were for sending a letter to Mohammed for advice, since the enemy was so much more formidable than had been expected; but a poet among them cried out, "We fight for the faith! If we fall the joys of Paradise are ours. On, to victory or to martyrdom!" With the fire of fanaticism and the daring of the Bedawin, the host marched forward crying, "By Allah! thou speakest truth! Onward!" But when the glittering armor and the vast numbers of the approaching host were revealed to them, they fell back in dismay, and were pressed down by the solid Roman phalanx. Zeyd seized the white flag of the prophet, and led his men to the struggle, until the lances of the enemy brought him to the dust; leader after leader followed his example, but the Moslems were forced back and back; there was no hope.

Then Kalid, the "Sword of Allah," won the right to his name. The men who but a moment before had been chanting

"Paradise! Oh paradise! how fair a resting-place! Cold is the water there and sweet the shade! Rome! Rome! the hour of thy woe draweth nigh! When we close with her, we shall hurl her to the earth!"

now thought that they were doing well if they followed the skilful manœuvres of their new leader in retreat.

None dared to counsel delay, but with one mind all hurried towards Medina, where they were greeted

with shouts of derision: "Ah, ye runaways! Do ye indeed flee before the enemy when fighting for Allah?" It was a sad downfall and cut Mohammed to the quick. However, he soon sent Amr into the field, who restored the lost prestige, and many Bedawin tribes bowed to Islam (October, 629). As the number of subjected clans increased so did the ambitious projects of Mohammed grow.

If it had been a "victory" to gain simple permission to enter Mecca and sojourn three brief days in the enjoyment of the ancient religious privileges, what would it be to become master of the Sacred City and to hold it against the world? Thoughts like this played through the prophet's mind as he contemplated the increasing number of his loyal subjects, and he longed for the day when a pretext should be presented him under which he could attack the city of his birth. It came not long after the retreat from Muta.

The Koreishites became involved in an attack upon the Kozaites, a tribe that had ranged themselves among the partisans of Mohammed, and a deputation from the injured people called upon the prophet for help. The Koreishites were much alarmed, and sent their chief, the same who had before besieged Medina and had scoffed at Mohammed as an impostor, to sue for peace. It was a sore trial to this proud man thus to plead with his despised enemy, it was still more mortifying to him to find that Mohammed was determined to give him no satisfaction whatever; and harder still on his return to Mecca to be received with insults by his own people because he had failed at Medina.

Scarcely had this envoy left Medina, when Mohammed began with the utmost secrecy to prepare for an attack upon Mecca; he gathered the largest force that the city had ever put into the field; and on the first of January, 630, the march began. The prophet prayed publicly: "O Allah! let no spy treacherously bear tidings to the Koreish; blind them, that they see not until I come upon them suddenly and sieze them unawares!" The prayer was not impressive enough to keep one of the most trusted among the Moslems from sending a letter to Mecca by a woman named Sara, who for ten pieces of gold, undertook the venturesome duty. She was overtaken on the way by Ali; the letter was found hidden in her hair, and the writer discovered and summoned before the prophet. He asserted that he was a true believer, but that having a wife and children at Mecca, he had sent the warning in order to ensure protection for them. Mohammed pardoned him, but the opening verses of sura sixty were revealed to warn others against doing likewise:

O, ye faithful! take not my enemies and yours for patrons; if ye show mercy to them, they will reject the truth that has been revealed to you. They will thrust you from them, the apostle and you, because you have faith in Allah.

When ye go forth from your hearths fighting valiantly for Islam, will ye show favor to them? I know what you conceal at the bottom of your hearts, and what you bring to the light of day. He who interests himself in the cause of the infidel, he it is who has wandered from the strait path.

The worldly-wise idolator Abbas, who had up to this time refused to bow to Allah, now saw that his nephew was on the road to power. He came out

from Mecca, where he had controlled the distribution of the waters of Zemzen, claiming that he had for a long time been a true Moslem at heart. Mohammed received him, saying in gentle irony, "The last of the prophets greets the latest of the emigrants!" When the heights overlooking Mecca had been reached, Mohammed ordered his ten thousand followers each to light a watch-fire, and hoped thus to strike sudden fear into the sleeping inhabitants. It happened that the chief of the Koreishites, he who had been repulsed with indignity by the prophet, walked forth that night to reconnoitre; in the dark he was met by Abbas, who, also had gone out to see if by any chance he might do something to save the devoted city from slaughter. "Yonder," said Abbas, as he pointed to the myriad fires, "is Mohammed encamped with ten thousand followers; believe, and cast in thy lot with us, or thy mother and thy clan shall shed tears for thee!"

In the morning the captured chieftain, threatened with immediate death, was brought before the prophet, after whom he tremblingly repeated the creed of Islam, and was sent back to his home by Mohammed, who said: "Every Meccan who is found in thy dwelling, and all who take refuge in the Kaaba; and whosoever shutteth the door of his own house upon his family, shall be safe: haste thee home!" As he departed, Mohammed gave the signal for his army to march, but with fearful anticipations. His constrained convert, had, however, been true: as soon as he entered the city, he cried: "Mohammed is upon us, O ye Koreishites! Whoso entereth my

house shall be safe this day; whosoever shutteth his door upon himself shall not be harmed; whosoever entereth the holy Kaaba shall find refuge!"

When Mohammed, mounted on the same camel that had so faithfully carried him on other occasions, rode into the city, his heart rose in thankfulness, for he saw empty streets again, and knew that his reception was to be peaceful. It is greatly to his praise that on this occasion, when his resentment for ill-usage in the past might naturally have incited him to revenge, he restrained his army from all shedding of blood, and showed every sign of humility and thanksgiving to Allah for his goodness. Kalid, it is true, did meet force with force at one point, but he was rebuked by Mohammed.

The prophet's first labor was the destruction of the idol-images in the Kaaba, and after that had been done he ordered his original muezzin to sound the call to prayer from the top of the Kaaba, and sent a crier through the streets to command all persons to break in pieces every image that they might possess. (January, 630.)

Ten or twelve men who had on a former occasion shown a barbarous spirit, were proscribed, and of them four were put to death, but this must be considered exceedingly humane, in comparison with the acts of other conquerors; in comparison for example, with the cruelty of the Crusaders, who, in 1099, put seventy-thousand Moslems, men, women, and helpless children, to death when Jerusalem fell into their hands; or with that of the English army, also fighting under the cross, which, in the year of grace, 1874,

burned an African capital, in its war on the Gold Coast. Mohammed's victory was in very truth one of religion and not of politics; he rejected every token of personal homage, and declined all regal authority; and when the haughty chiefs of the Koreishites appeared before him he asked:

"What can you expect at my hands?"

"Mercy, O generous brother."

"Be it so; ye are free!" he exclaimed.

XXI.

HOW TAIF WAS BESIEGED AND TAKEN.

AMONG the tribes that yet resisted the claims of Islam, the most important were the Bedawins who ranged the hill-country to the south and east of Mecca, brethren of some of the inhabitants of the strong city of Taif, to which the prophet had gone to preach when he thought that his mission was to be rejected by his own kinsfolk. The people of Taif were devoted to their idols, and as their relations with Mecca were close, and the distance between the two cities not great, they feared lest Mohammed, inspired by his easy conquest, might descend upon them. Accordingly they determined to check his arrogance, and assembled for counsel in a mountain-valley northeast of Taif.

The chiefs said: "The Koreishites are mere traffickers, and know not how to make war; they have naturally been overcome easily; proud of his success, the prophet will now make plans to subjugate us; let us forestall his schemes and march upon him before he has time to make an attack." The advice found favor, and an army was quickly gathered. Of these facts Mohammed had prompt knowledge, and collected the forces that he had brought with him,

to which two thousand more were added from the willing people of the holy city, and four weeks from his unexpected appearance at Mecca, he began his march towards the new enemy, his followers exulting as they gazed at the array of flaunting banners and the long lines of troops.

The leader of the Bedawins was a young warrior who thought to inspire his soldiers with deadly determination by causing their wives and children, their flocks and herds to follow in the rear; though one of the aged chiefs when he learned of the plan, uttered an expression of disgust and exclaimed, "When fear overtakes a soldier, nothing will stop his flight; if we conquer, these women and children will be only an embarrassment; if we fail, they will be prey for the enemy; alas, we are dishonored, ruined!"

The armies met on the first of February, 630, in a valley called Honein, behind Arafat; the first onset threw the Moslems into confusion, and notwithstanding the desperate efforts of Mohammed to reassure them, it seemed as though certain defeat was to be their fortune, in spite of their overwhelming numbers; the band from Medina proved steady, however, and the Moslems rallied before it was too late, utterly routing the Bedawins and capturing their women and children. There were taken six thousand prisoners, twenty-four thousand camels, forty thousand sheep and goats, and four thousand ounces of silver; and Mohammed resolved to press on to Taif, confident that his troops, inspired by a victory so much greater than they had ever before known,

would feel strong to attack even so well fortified a place as that. In the ninth sura, he alludes to the victory at Honein, attributing the first repulse to over-confidence in numbers, and the final success to the angelic aid that he was ever ready to promise and direct his followers to expect:

> Verily, Allah hath holpen you in many a battle; and on the day of Honein, when ye were so puffed up by the multitude of our host, though that did not give you strength; the valley was too strait for you, though it was truly broad. Ye turned your backs and fled.
>
> Then Allah sent down his grace upon his prophet and upon the faithful, and hosts that ye saw not, and punished the misbelievers; for that is the reward of the unfaithful.

The city of Taif is situated in the midst of a territory of much fertility; it is a veritable oasis among barren mountains, and rejoices in the richness and abundance of its fruits; at this time it was surrounded by high and broad walls, and was supplied with enough water and provisions to last for many months. Mohammed's efforts were fruitless against strong masonry, and after a time he determined to weaken his enemy by devastating the gardens and orchards about the city. This work was entered upon with vigor, but the besieged expostulated, and the prophet graciously desisted; though at the same time he proclaimed that all slaves who might flee from the city to him should be free. Only twenty-two embraced the offer, and the people of Taif lost no courage on account of so small a defection.

Mohammed continued his efforts for twenty days, but then determined to withdraw, confident that the city was, as one of his followers expressed it, "like a

fox in its hole; if you remain long enough you will take it, if you leave it, it cannot harm you." An opportune dream supported this view of the case, and saying: "We shall return again, by the will of Allah," Mohammed retired with his army, making presents to the Bedawins who professed allegiance to him, and returning to them their wives and children which had been captured at Honein.

The prophet's mercy was politic, but it was none the less mercy; it gained friendship for Mohammed at the south, but aroused jealousy and discord among the Moslems. The prophet was mobbed by those who thought that they had been deprived of their just share of the captives. Calling around him the men of Medina whose friendship he much appreciated, he said, "Hearken, O ye men of Medina! When I came unto you, were ye not wandering, and did I not bring harmony to you? Were ye not in error, and I turned you to the truth? Were ye not poor, and I made you rich?"

"It is even as thou sayest?" they honestly replied.

"Nay, more, by Allah! Ye *might* have answered, 'Thou camest to us stigmatised as a liar, and yet we believed thee; thou camest a fugitive and we sheltered thee; an outcast, and we gave thee a home; destitute and we gave thee meat.' Think ye that I do not feel all this? Ye complain that I give gifts to these, and not to you: I give them worldly goods to win their worldly hearts; to you, the true, I give my own heart: they return home with sheep and camels; ye go back with the prophet of Allah; for,

by him in whose hand are the souls of us all, though the whole world should go one way and ye another, I would never leave you! Which have I most rewarded?"

"O prophet of Allah!" they cried through their rising tears, "we are content!"

For twelve days Mohammed rested at the place where the spoil of Honein had been divided, and then returned to Mecca dressed in the ihram, to perform the rites of the lesser pilgrimage. This was early in March, 630. At the end of the same month, he re-entered Medina. In the course of his journey the prophet passed the spot where fair Amina, his mother, had fallen by the way so many years before, and filial feeling brought tears to his eyes at the sight of her tomb. Just then the words were revealed to him,

"Let not the prophet nor other believers ask pardon for idolaters, though of their own kindred."

He prayed Allah to allow him to offer a prayer for his mother, but the request was not granted. He must have sincerely believed that an intimation of the heavenly will was sent to him, and he said sadly, "I asked Allah that I might visit my mother's grave, and he permitted it. I asked that I might pray for her, and he denied me."

His long postponed desire for a son was gratified by the birth of Ibrahim, child of a Coptic maid, Mary, who had been given to him as a slave by the governor of Egypt. The wives were very jealous of Mary, as the mother of the prophet's only son, and he in turn became much displeased with them. The

sixty-sixth sura was "revealed" as a warning to the refractory spouses, who were therein told of the two wicked wives of these good men Noah and Lot, to whom it was said, on their approach to the other life, "Enter the *fire* with those who enter!"

The beloved son died at the age of fifteen months, and the father, who had been devotedly attached to him, mourned with sincerity, but with resignation. There was an eclipse of the sun at the time, which the people thought was occasioned by the sadness of nature in consequence of the child's death; but the prophet nobly said, "The sun and the moon, are signs appointed by Allah; but they are not eclipsed on the death of any mortal: when ye observe an eclipse, betake yourselves to prayer until it passeth away."

The conquest of Mecca gave Mohammed great spiritual power, and in its train came absolute secular jurisdiction. The raising of the siege of Taif did not detract from his prestige; he was, in fact, so crowded with embassies from the various tribes which wished to unite their fortunes with his, that the ninth year after the Hejra was called, in consequence, "The Year of the Deputations."

Among these emissaries were fourteen men belonging to a Christian tribe, who came to see what Islam was and to form a judgment of its merits. They were received by Mohammed in the mosque, and an opportunity was given them for conference, which turned entirely upon the second person in the Trinity, concerning whom the deputies cited passages in the Gospels. To these the prophet opposed verses from the Koran, such as these:

Verily, the likeness of Jesus to Allah is as the likeness of Adam: he created him from the earth, and said to him, "Be," and he was;—truth from Allah, so be thou art not of those who doubt. And whoso disputeth, after the truth had come to thee, say, "Come, let us call our sons and your sons, and our wives and your women, and ourselves and yourselves, and let us call down the curses of Allah upon those that lie."

VIEW OF MEDINA.

Verily, this is true, there is no god but Allah, and he is the mighty and the wise; but if they turn back;—Allah knoweth the evil doers!

The ordeal of the Cursing, or the Judgment of Allah, was agreed upon as a means of settling the discussion, and an open place outside of the city was chosen for the ceremony. When the morrow arrived, Mohammed presented himself, accompanied

by Fatima and Ali and their two sons; but the Christians were not to be seen; they had been turned from their purpose through fear of the terrible punishment that would fall upon them in case of failure, at least so the Moslem historians assert. It is added that the prophet graciously offered to allow them to return to their homes after they should promise to pay him an annual tribute, or renounce their religion. They chose the tribute, and it may well be questioned whether they ever really consented to the ordeal, which must have certainly appeared to them an unsatisfactory mode of settling a theological dispute, though history records many ordeals quite as absurd, which were familiar to Christian peoples in Europe centuries after this epoch.

The mosque of the prophet at Medina now became the centre of busy life; embassies were received there; there tithes and tribute were paid; there disputes were discussed and settled; and there honors and powers were conferred upon those who came to submit to Islam. Mohammed was now well known in all quarters of his native land, and his followers began to be counted by thousands.

While the inhabitants of castle after castle and city after city were thus hastening to win the favor of the vicegerent of Allah, the stubborn people of Taif still bowed their heads only to their idols, and trusted to their strong walls and mountain heights to make them secure from the vengeance that the mild words of the prophet plainly warranted them to expect, if they did not embrace Islam. As time wore on, they began to feel that their position was

no more strong than it was lonely, for they found themselves surrounded by a constantly narrowing cordon of believers, and it was at last impossible for them to venture beyond their walls in safety. The "fox" had remained long enough in its hole, and now was to be caught. The people sent embassadors to Mohammed to ask conditions of peace. He declined to listen to any terms but the complete surrender of their idols, and submission to Islam. The emissaries were willing to embrace the faith themselves, they said, but pleaded that a sudden revolution might shock the people of Taif; might they not be allowed to worship the idols three more years?

"No!" replied the prophet.

"May we not have a month's time in which to prepare the minds of the people!"

"No! Allah cannot be served by those who bow to idols."

"May our people at least be absolved from the oft-repeated daily prayers?"

"There is no true religion without prayer," was the only answer.

Upon this a surrender was made, and a messenger was sent to destroy the famous idol of stone in the temple at Taif. It was left in fragments on the earth, surrounded by weeping women lamenting the fall of their hopes.

It was during this year (A.D. 630) that word came to Medina from the north that the Romans and their allies in Syria were gathering a host to march upon the Moslems, and Mohammed determined

upon the most ambitious enterprise that he had yet engaged in. He made no secret of his real intentions, but boldly called upon the faithful to gather under his banner, and an army of thirty thousand warriors was formed, which set out under the personal command of the prophet, Ali being left at Medina to care for his family and exercise the duties of governor. No such force had probably been seen in Arabia, and it marched with great difficulty over burning sands and through regions destitute of water. Desertions were not infrequent, but they were not sufficient to reduce the vast numbers materially, and the expedition struck fear into the dwellers along its line of march. Many tribes came to offer their allegiance, and the great army that Rome was supposed to have prepared was not encountered; whether its commanders were alarmed by the rumors of the force sent against it, or whether Mohammed sagaciously kept out of its range, cannot be determined. True it is that the spirits of the Moslem army were dampened, and when the campaign was but partially completed, Mohammed called a council of war, at Tabuk, in the course of which he asked Omar whether the advance should continue or not.

"If thou hast the command of Allah to go forward, advance!" he replied.

"If I had received the command of Allah, I should not have asked Omar!" the prophet responded.

The usual rejoicings were heard in Medina when the prophet returned from this expedition, though all the populace could not join in them, because many had refused the invitation to go to Syria, and some had even ventured to rail at the prophet for

undertaking it. One had cried out, "Verily the prophet thinks it a matter of sport to go to fight the Romans; but he will find it different from warring with the desert tribes. A fine season, this, indeed, to march over the deserts in defiance of the heat of the sun and the dryness of the burning sands!" Against such, a passage in the ninth sura was revealed:

Those who staid behind, were glad of their holding back from the prophet of Allah, and refused to fight sharply with their goods and their strong arms for the cause of Allah, and said, "Go not forth to war in the heat!" Say, the fire of Gehenna is a fiercer heat, if ye but knew! Verily, they shall laugh little and weep much as their reward!

The sura bristles with sharp utterances aimed at those who held back from this memorable expedition, which had, however, so effectually established the prophet's authority to the northward that some of the Moslems were on the point of selling their arms, as though all need of them in the propagation of Islam were at an end. Mohammed saw farther into the future than his disciples, and said, "Sell not thine arms; verily there shall not cease from the midst of my people a fighting band, no, not till Antichrist * shall come!"

* The Moslems say that the Jews give Antichrist the name "Messiah ben David," and pretend that in the last days he is to restore the kingdom to them. He is to appear somewhere between Irak and Syria, is to be followed by thousands of Jews, and will lay waste all places except Mecca and Medina. See Sales Koran, "Preliminary Discourse," section iv. On the other hand, it was formerly customary for Christians to speak of Mohammed as Antichrist. On this Professor Freeman says: "Whether Mahomet be personally the Antichrist of Scripture, I do not profess to determine, but I do know that his religion, approximating as it does so closely to Christianity, without being Christian, has eventually proved, above all others, emphatically Antichristian." "The History and Conquests of the Saracens," page 72.

XXII.

A FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE.

IDOLATRY was now reluctant to lift its head among the tribes of Arabia from distant Hadramawt to the Gulf of Akaba; but Islam had not made great progress in the valley of the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, or in Syria, and offensive rites were still mingled with the observances of the faithful during the holy months at Mecca. Mohammed found it repugnant to his feelings to be present on such occasions, and he therefore sent Abu Bekr at the time of the greater pilgrimage to sacrifice thirty camels in his name in the valley of Mina, in the spring of the year 631. Three hundred pilgrims accompanied him, and in the midst of the great assemblage that gathered he preached to the people the rites and doctrines of Islam.

At the height of the ceremonies Abu Bekr was surprised to see Ali rise in the assembly, and announce himself a special messenger from the prophet. Scarcely had the pilgrims left Medina when a "revelation" of the utmost gravity was made to Mohammed, and this it was which he had committed to Ali for publication. Abu Bekr protested in vain that

he was in command of the pilgrimage, and Ali proceeded to declare his message:

"A RELEASE by Allah and his prophet from obligations to those idolaters with whom ye have leagued yourselves.

"Go ye [idolaters] to and fro in the land securely for four months, but know that ye cannot contravene Allah, and that Allah will verily bring the misbelievers to naught.

"A PROCLAMATION from Allah and his prophet unto the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage; lo, Allah is quit of the idolaters and his prophet also . . .

"When the forbidden months have passed, then kill the idolaters wheresoever ye find them; take them captive, besiege them, and lay wait for them in every place convenient . . . How can there be to the idolaters a treaty with Allah and with his apostle, save to those with whom ye have made a league at the sacred Kaaba? . . .

"Will ye not fight a people who broke their oaths, and intended to expel the apostle? They began with you, at first,—are ye afraid of them? . . . If ye be believers, kill them! . . .

"It is not for idolaters to enter the house of Allah. . . . He only shall enter who believes in Allah and in the last day, and is steadfast in prayer and gives alms. . . . Take not your fathers nor your brethren for associates if they love misbelief and hate the true faith. . . . If your fathers and your sons and your brethren and your wives and your clansmen, and the wealth which ye have gained, and your merchandise which ye fear may be slow of sale, and the dwellings wherein ye delight, are dearer to you than Allah and his prophet, than fighting sorely in his way,—then wait, and see the salvation of Allah, for Allah careth not for a generation that worketh abomination. . . .

"Verily the misbelievers are unclean; wherefore, let them not approach the holy Kaaba after this year; and if so be ye fear want from the stoppage of traffic, verily, Allah will make you rich; for surely Allah is knowing and reasonable. . . .

"Attack the idolaters in all the months, as they fight you in all!"

—*Sura* ix.

When the pilgrims had finished their duties, they returned to their near and remote homes, and all Arabia soon learned the lesson that the Moslem

never forgot:—"Fight! fight! fight! Let no idolater perform the pilgrimage! Keep no faith with them! Kill them by fair means, beguile them by stratagem; disregard all ties, blood, friendship, humanity,—sweep the misbelievers from the face of the earth,—in the name of Allah and of the prophet!" The sword had been unsheathed before; now there was to be no quarter, no rites of refuge, no sanctuary in the sacred months. Verily, the prophet appreciated the foundation that had been laid for building up his already strong sovereignty.

Vast is the power of the man who is at once king and priest, who can speak with the authority of a prince, and add to his temporal laws the force derived from threats of punishment in a future world. Mohammed at Medina was a king; at Mecca he was a priest; but in both cities he presented himself to his admiring vassals as powerful in time and in eternity, as holding authority over both body and soul. The meditation of his early years, the mild faith in his mission that dominated his middle age, both had given way before a fanaticism which overwhelmed him in these his final months.

As his political and priestly power thus increased, he found that age was slowly making its inevitable inroads upon his vigor, and he announced his determination to perform both the lesser and the greater pilgrimage in the year 632, hoping to accomplish some thing more in the way of confirming his religion by his personal presence than was possible to effect through any deputy however closely allied to him.

The prophet had not performed the greater pilgrimage, since his emigration to Medina, and the announcement of his intention created a veritable sensation throughout all the regions around; a vast concourse eagerly craved the privilege of accompanying him, and five days before the opening of March (the month of the lesser pilgrimage that year), he donned the ihram and started for the holy city, followed, according to the lowest estimate, by eighty thousand men; with all of his wives around him in litters,* and driving before him many camels adorned with festive garlands, ready for the sacrifices. As the long cortege passed from one halting-place to another, Mohammed frequently uttered prayers, ascribing praises and honor to Allah, and declaring again and again his unity.

"Behold me, O Allah! To thee belongeth the all honors, all praises, all power! Thou art ONE!"

His first visit upon reaching Mecca was made to the Kaaba, where he devoutly kissed the black stone, and lifted up his voice in earnest prayer for continual blessings upon the edifice. He performed the usual duties of both pilgrimages with the utmost scrupulousness, for he wished to leave to the people a pattern which they might copy in ages after he was gone, and he sealed the whole with the words,—

"This day have I perfected your religion unto you, and fulfilled my mercy upon you, and appointed Islam for you to be your religion forever."

* It has not been found necessary for the purposes of this story to give the names of all of the prophet's wives, in fact the list is not the same in the various histories, but the number had now probably risen to fifteen, including those who had been taken away by death.

On one of the days, he took a prominent position among the pilgrims and addressed them somewhat as follows:

"O ye People! Hearken unto my words! I know not that ever I shall speak to you here again.

"Your lives and your goods are sacred among you until the end of time.

"You must one day appear before Allah to give an account of your doings.

"Let every man be faithful.

"No more shall vengeance be allowed for blood shed in the days of your idolatry.

"Ye husbands have rights and ye wives, ye have rights. Husbands, love your wives, and nourish them.

"I leave you a law that shall always preserve you from error; a law clear, positive,—a Book dictated from heaven.

"Listen to my words and fix them in your minds.

"Verily all Moslems are brothers. Take not that which belongs to thy brother; beware of injustic.

"O Allah, I have fulfilled my mission!"

Thousands of voices responded as one,

"Yea, verily thou hast fulfilled it!"

The prophet added, "O Allah, I beseech thee, bear thou witness to my message!"

As the sermon, from which the few sentences above are taken was delivered, a Koreishite, endowed with a resounding voice, repeated each sentence to the throngs, thus adding to the deep impressiveness of the unusual scene. The ceremony

finished, the prophet sacrificed the sixty-three camels he had provided, and Ali who had returned from a mission to Yemen just in time to take part in all the solemnities of the occasion, added thirty-seven. The aged Abu Bekr, as he reflected upon the events of the years since he was with the prophet in the mountain cave, and looked forward to the coming dissolution of the earthly bond that held him to Mohammed, shed sympathetic tears.

The flesh of the sacrificed beasts was distributed and the prophet took up his journey towards Medina.

The ascendancy Mohammed now enjoyed created rivals, and three men in different parts of Arabia arose and attempted to grasp some thing of the power that he swayed, imitating his assumed inspiration from heaven, and endeavoring to unite in their persons his religious and civil authority. They heard that Mohammed was growing weaker physically, and they knew also that some of the wandering Bedawins who had given allegiance to Islam were becoming discontented with its irksome restraints and wearisome rites. They deemed the moment propitious for the undertakings that they meditated.

The first of these, Tuleya, belonging to a tribe ranging the deserts of Nejd, and allied to the Koreishites, was promptly overcome by Kalid; the second, nicknamed Maslama or Muselima, the Little Moslem, was, as we shall see, not so easily put down; the third, Aswad, was a person of some authority in Yemen, and succeeded in driving out the representatives of Mohammed; but his insurrection

seems to have been deemed by the prophet of small importance, and it did not long endure. He was killed a few days before Mohammed's death. These "false prophets," as they are called, serve to show that though the authority of Mohammed was wide and his power great, his iron rule was galling to many of his disciples, and that there were not wanting those who were ready to rebel if opportunity should but present itself.

With apparent unconsciousness of these facts, the prophet proposed to organize another expedition into Roman territory, and appointed as its director Osama, son of his adopted son Zeyd, who, as we remember, had perished in the same region at the battle of Muta. He knew that his restless subjects required activity of this sort, and he desired also that his mission should be recognized among the tribes to the northward. The preparations were, however, interrupted by an illness.

One night the prophet found himself in so much pain that he could not sleep; and calling an attendant he passed through the quiet city streets to the cemetery without the walls, where he saluted the inhabitants of the tombs, called upon them to rest in peace, waiting for their brethren, and then fell to praying for the souls of the faithful buried around him. When he returned to Ayesha's apartment he was in a high fever, and he said to Abu Bekr that it was the travail of inspiration which brought it on.

Doubtless the ecstasies into which he had for so many years been accustomed to fall when overcome by those reflections which issued in "revelations,"

were exceedingly weakening; but it seems that they would have shown some thing of their effect before he had arrived at the age of more than three score years. The same may be said of the epileptic fits or hysterical attacks to which he is said by some to have been subject, for they did not interfere with the sound development of his bodily system, nor keep him from the exposures and fatigue of active campaigns.

Mohammed now knew that the end of his earthly pilgrimage was rapidly approaching, and he said: "Verily Allah hath offered unto one of his servants the choice between this life and the one that is near unto him, and he hath chosen that which is nigh unto Allah." It is said that he often repeated the one hundred and tenth sura, which is interpreted to mean that when many should press to Islam, then the career of the prophet should be near at end:

> "When the help of Allah comes, and victory,
> And thou shalt see men entering Islam by troops,
> Then sing thou the praises of Allah, and ask forgiveness
> of him, for verily, he is merciful."

For a while Mohammed, though feeble, continued to lead the public devotions in the mosque, but at last he found himself too much weakened to perform the duty, and even the doors of the building were closed to keep the hum of busy life away from his apartment. He then appointed Abu Bekr to take his place in the mosque, perhaps intimating in this way that he desired his priestly and political authority to fall upon his tried friend when he should himself be no more.

His pains increased, and in his agony he cried out: "By him in whose hands my life is, there is not upon earth a believer afflicted with calamity or disease, but Allah by it causeth his sins to fall from him, yea, even as leaves shed from the trees in autumn!" At another time he called for pen and paper, saying that he would write a book that would preserve his followers from error. There seems to be an indication here that the prophet wished to revise the Koran to fit it to be a guide for his people when their numbers should be increased in different portions of the world. In a former illness he had prayed for recovery, but now he cried, O my soul, why seekest thou refuge other than Allah only?"

Once he rallied and suddenly appeared in the mosque when the assembly was in the act of prayer, and as he entered he said in a whisper to an attendant, "Verily Allah hath granted me cooling of the eyes in prayer!" He then moved to the side of Abu Bekr and remained there on the ground until the services were finished. Then he sat a little while in the courtyard and spoke in faint tones to the throng, but the exertion weakened him, and he sought his couch in the apartment of Ayesha.

There he sighed, "O Allah, succour me in the agonies of death!" "Gabriel, come thou close to thy servant!" Ayesha prayed the whiles, and the prophet in his last throes muttered, "O Allah, grant thy servant pardon, and join him to the companionship on high . . . Eternity in paradise . . . Pardon . . . Yes . . . The companionship of the blessed on high!" . . . The head was

heavy on Ayesha's bosom. Peace had come to him after his stress and storm. It was Monday, June 8, 632 A.D., and in the tenth year after the Hejra.

Thus died the only man mentioned by history, who was at once legislator and poet, the founder of a religion and of an empire.

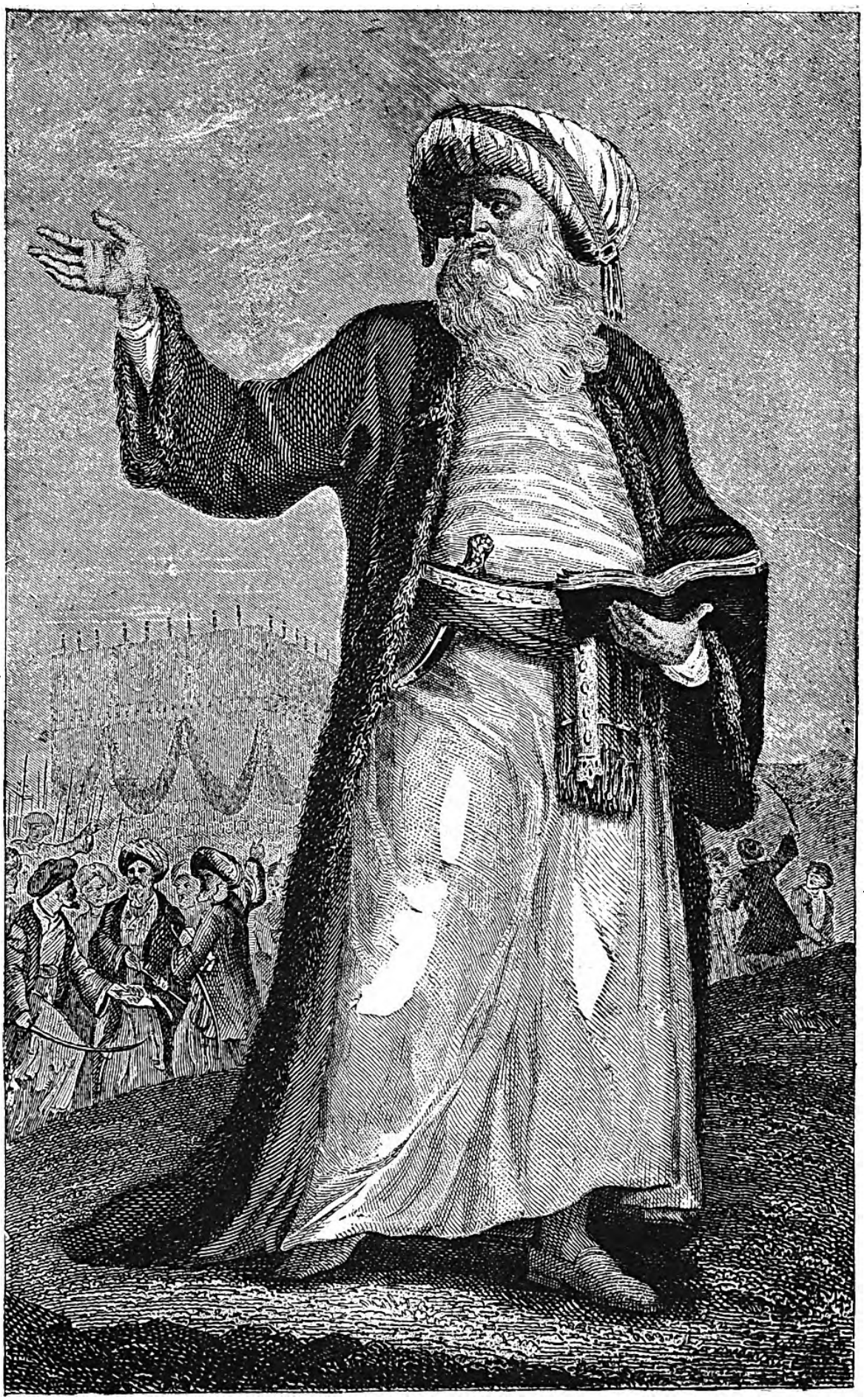
XXIII.

THE FIRST SUCCESSOR.

CAN we put ourselves in the place occupied by these volatile Arabs as they heard that the prophet was dead? Can we tell what they thought of him and his mission in their inmost hearts? For ten years he had gone in and out before the people of Medina, and they knew the secrets of his unassuming life; his simple dress, his spare table, his lack of parade, his charity, his sobriety, his abstemiousness, his fasts, his prayers, his noble counsel and tenderness, his goodfellowship. They did not forget how he gave gifts to his old nurse, Halima, when she visited him in his manhood, nor his tears at the grave of gentle Amina, when he passed by it on the way from Mecca; they remembered with loving sympathy his tender outburst of sorrow when little Ibrahim, his hope and his treasure, was torn from his arms.

Could they forget his public teachings? How he counselled children to cultivate love, honor, and humility towards their mothers,* no less than towards their fathers; how he declared that husband and wife had equal rights to love and affection from

* He said, beautifully, "The son gains Paradise at the feet of the mother."



MOHAMMED.

the other; how he raised widows to an estate of honor from their former humiliation; how he limited the number of wives that a man might take; how he raised the Arabs as a nation from the grade of idolaters, and pointed them to Allah, who is one, and will not share his honor with another.

Did they not remember his dignified form as it had passed up and down their streets, or appeared regularly in the mosque? His sympathetic, dark eye, which won their confidence at the first interview, his graceful smile and flowing beard, his piercing glance, his stern frown,—were they not all impressed upon their memory? Did any ask why he allowed himself fifteen wives, when he limited them to four? Did they taunt his memory with his cruelty to enemies? Did any enquire how the "faithful" young man of Mecca had changed and become the "crafty" ruler of Medina? Not one; they were ready to bury his faults in his grave, if, indeed, they acknowledged that he had any. Even if they had been disposed to criticism, no Arabian could accuse Mohammed of craftiness nor cruelty, nor could he think of him in any other light than that of a heaven-sent reformer.

His honesty was patent, despite those convenient "revelations" that had in so suspicious a manner contributed to further his personal desires.* Whatever faults we may detect in him to-day, and we may properly be more critical than his followers

* "The old notion that Mohammed was a mere impostor appears so difficult of belief that no one of any recognized skill in historical enquiry now upholds it."—W. W. Ireland, "The Blot on the Brain," page 23.

were able to be, are faults of the Arabian character and of the seventh century; and that is not saying that Mohammed was a perfect man. He had the inconsistencies of humanity; he was led into weaknesses by the very strength of his position, a position that he had largely made for himself. He had some light from perverted Judaism, a little also from a less perfect phase of Christianity; and of these, in his ignorance, he took advantage to frame a moral and social code that he trusted, and trusted to the last, would be used by Allah for the regeneration of the whole world. It was marred by polygamy; it was blotted by slavery; but in both of these respects, it was an improvement upon what had preceded it. It was bloody, and was made horrid by hate, but the time did not come for ages after his day when all Christians even understood the gentle law of love that their Leader laid down for their guidance, and for centuries they acted upon the law which permitted direst hate to exist towards all beyond the pale of their own faith.

Can we find fault with Mohammed for the presentation of Allah, the merciful and compassionate, the One God as opposed to the hundreds of divinities in the Arabian pantheon? Was it not an original idea in the eyes of his countrymen? Was it not to them a veritable revelation? Did it not show the greatness of Mohammed's mind that from the sources at his command he was able to evolve an idea so sublime, and so strange in view of all his early teachings? The intensity with which Mohammed appreciated the evils of idolatry led him to overlook his oppor-

tunity to overturn polygamy and to elevate woman; and thus to make Islam a great power for good in after time. Was not his sincerity proved, too, by the firmness with which, to his dying moment, he clung to the one grand thought of all his life? If he had been more than man, he would have seen the error of fixing a religion so inelastic, so unprogressive, and laws so rigid and unadapted for the use of future ages upon a people whom he thought destined to bring all nations under their sway and to hold them for all time.*

The reforms that he wrought were relative, not absolute; they raised the standard in Mecca and in all Arabia, but they were lower, if he had only known it, than the perfect law of purity and love which a greater than he had laid down. It was his misfortune not to have seen Christianity in its full brightness, and it has been the misfortune of his followers ever since.† To him Issa was not the perfect man that Jesus was, but though he was seen by him through the veil of the degenerate, the vulgarized

* Dr. August Weil says of the Koran: "Like the Books of Moses, it contains ordinances that are not useful or even applicable to all lands and all mankind, nor yet for all time. . . . As a reformer, which Mohammed originally was and desired to be, he is entitled to our unqualified recognition and admiration. . . . He merits the name of prophet."

† "All this was extremely natural on the part of one in Mahomet's position; but he was clearly blameworthy in not more fully informing himself on such all-important questions. Consequently his system became one of mere retrogression and bitter antagonism to the truth." "A little more enquiry, and Mahomet might have proved a Christian missionary."—E. A. Freeman, "The History and Conquests of the Saracens," pp. 53–72.

tritheistic Christianity of Arabia, he appeared always to his mind as the true Spirit and Word of Allah, as one to be respected and honored as an apostle, though not allowed to be the Son of God. No more could have been expected of Mohammed short of the miraculous.

Maurice has shown that the Arabian prophet adopted the Old-Testament idea of God—of a being, living, acting, speaking, ruling; as one who makes his will known to men by books and apostles; as one whom man could not find out, who must reveal himself; as one to whom his people may offer their petitions, with faith that he will hear; and to this divinity he bound a scattered nation, who for centuries had been without a temple or a capital, scorned and hated by all people, and bound them so firmly that they were ready to sacrifice their goods, yea, their very lives in its support, because they believed with a mighty conviction that they were verily called of God to a work, that they were his witnesses and responsible to him only.*

Mohammed depended not at all upon "miracles," as many would-be prophets have; he declared that his only miracle was the Koran, and this he truly believed to be some thing not evolved from himself, for when its suras were brought to his mind he was so deeply wrought up by consideration of the particular themes they respectively treated that he verily believed that they were not of him, but came from on high.

* See "The Religions of the World," by Frederick Denison Maurice, chapter I., part 1, and chapter I., part 2.

Many another thinker, without for a moment claiming that he has been the subject of supernatural communications, has nevertheless been entirely unable at times to explain the genesis of his own works, or perhaps even to feel that they proceeded from his own mind; they had been produced after mental throes, often with physical pains, and when once brought to the light they seemed to their composer like some thing entirely outside of his being; they were as fresh and interesting to him as to any one else. Such, in a transcendent degree, was the case with Mohammed; he seems to have been unaware of the reaction of his mind upon itself in his early anxiety for reformation, and after the idea had become fixed in his belief that he was in communication with higher powers, he never was able to release himself from the agreeable and flattering hallucination.

It was a true man who talked to Ayesha during the "night Al Kadar," which is "better than a thousand months," and expressed his reliance for salvation on the mercy of Allah.*

"O prophet, do none enter paradise except by the mercy of Allah?" she asked.

"No, no, none enter but by the favor of Allah."

"But you, O prophet, will you not enter paradise except by the compassion of Allah?"

* "Surely nothing but a consciousness of real righteous intentions could have carried Mahomet so steadily and consistently, without ever flinching or wavering, without ever betraying himself to his most intimate companions, from his first revelation to Khadijah to his last agony in the arms of Ayesha."—E. A. Freeman, "The History and Conquests of the Saracens," p. 57.

The prophet placed his hand upon his head and said solemnly thrice: "I shall not enter except Allah cover me with his mercy!"

On another occasion he said: "I am no more than a man; when I order you any thing respecting religion, receive it; and when I order you about the business of this life, then I am nothing more than a man."

There was sadness in Medina when the news came to the people that the prophet was no more. "How can we let him die,—he who told us how to act and warned us of judgment to come?" "No, no, he is not dead," cried strong Omar, "he has but gone like Musa (Moses) to talk to Allah; we shall see him among us again." Abu Bekr hastened to the house of mourning, placed his hand upon the cold cheeks and the quiet heart, and then appeared before the throng, saying with Oriental vehemence:

"O Moslems, if ye would adore Mohammed, know that he is dead; if ye would adore Allah, know that he lives, and never dies! Do ye forget already the verse of the Koran, that he gave you aforetime? 'Mohammed is but a man with a mission; apostles have passed away in other days; what if he die or is killed, will ye then turn upon your heels?' (sura iii.). Do ye forget that other word, 'Verily, O Mohammed, thou shalt die, and they shall die'?" (sura xxxix.). The words of the old man calmed the multitude and showed Omar too that he was wrong.

Before the body could be buried, it was necessary to decide upon the successor (kalif) who should wield the power that death had wrested from the

prophet, and there were several claimants, but Abu Bekr had, they thought, been too plainly pointed out as the choice of Mohammed to allow him to be overlooked, and the authority was laid upon him after a slight discussion. Omar cried out to him, "Hold forth thy hand!" and seizing it, declared in a loud voice that he recognized him as chief, and swore to him allegiance.

The next morning Abu Bekr appeared as usual in the mosque, and Omar said to the people: "The apostle of Allah has been taken from us, but the Koran remains; Allah gave it as a guide to the prophet, it will continue to keep us in the right way! To-day Allah has placed at our head the best man among us, the friend of the prophet, his companion in the cave. Come, then, take the hand of Abu Bekr, and solemnly swear obedience and allegiance to him!"

The multitude hastened to grasp the hand of the honored leader, and then Abu Bekr spoke:

"Behold me charged with the cares of governor. I am not the best among you; I need all your advice and all your help; if I do well, support me; if I mistake, counsel me. To tell truth to a person commissioned to rule is faithful allegiance; to conceal it is treason. In my sight the powerful and the weak are alike; to both I wish to render justice. As I obey Allah and his prophet, obey me: if I cast behind me the laws of Allah and the prophet, I have no more right to your obedience."

The successor, or kalif as he was called, thus peacefully inaugurated, the funeral ceremonies were

the next care. They occupied parts of Tuesday and Wednesday, after which the body, honored in death, was placed lovingly in a tomb prepared in the house of Ayesha, the favorite wife. She continued to occupy a portion of the apartment afterwards, a division being made between the dwelling of the living and the dead, and there her father, Abu Bekr, was also buried when he died.

The first use that the kalif made of his new authority was prophetic, for it marked out the policy of Islam for the future. He sent Osama on his expedition of vengeance and conquest, and after twenty days he returned in triumph, having avenged his father's death at Muta by fire and blood. He had burned villages and crops, had slain all who ventured to oppose his progress, and had enslaved those who had remained at home, leaving behind him a whirlwind of fire and smoke. He was met by Abu Bekr and the citizens outside the town with loud acclamations, and together they marched to the mosque, the white banner of the prophet flying over them, and there they offered thanksgiving for the bloody success!

XXIV.

CAN ISLAM BE SHAKEN OFF?

THE new ruler, the Successor of the Prophet of Allah, as he was humbly called, was a man of about the same age as Mohammed. His principal recommendation for the office to which he had so suddenly been raised, was found in the fact that he had been with the founder of Islam in the cave, for which reason he had received the title, "the Other of the Two," a sobriquet of which he was exceedingly proud. Mohammed called him Al-Siddik, on account of his truthfulness, and that title also adhered to him through life, the people as well as their prophet always placing the utmost confidence in his integrity.

The form of Abu Bekr was spare, and he stooped; his face was thin, and his countenance gave the impression of a man of resolution and wisdom; but his expression was mild, truly representing his disposition, though on account of the firmness of his faith in the prophet he had become one of his most resolute and unyielding disciples. His handsome features were smooth and fair, and his thin beard and hair, though naturally white, were, in accordance with an Oriental custom, dyed red.

Though there were reasons for asserting that Abu Bekr had been indicated by Mohammed as his successor, there were not lacking grounds for thinking that Ali also had a good claim upon the office. Not only was he son-in-law of the prophet, but it will be remembered that he was, according to the traditionary story, the first one to rush to his support when the mission was announced, and had at that most critical moment received the title "kalif," joined with the promise that his commands should be obeyed.*

There was another strong claimant, the redoubtable Omar, whose conversion in the early days of the prophet's mission, had appeared almost miraculous. Since that moment he had been the right arm of Islam, and to his martial ability most of its victories in war were due. He showed a generosity that could not be forgotten in giving up his claims with so much cordiality in favor of Abu Bekr.

Othman was another who might well have expected recognition, for he had married two of Mohammed's daughters, and had received from him one of those compliments that he was perhaps too much inclined to scatter promiscuously among his followers: "Each thing has its mate, and each man his associate; my companion in paradise is Othman." The prophet showed special consideration for this man at the time of the Oath under the Tree, for Othman was not present, but Mohammed took the oath for him, striking one of his own palms upon the other in token of his allegiance.

* See page 83.

Of all these, Ali seems to have had the strongest right to the place (if "right" there was), and so great was the feeling of his partisans on his rejection that a body known by his name still exists, the Islamites of Persia to-day adhering to the interpretation of the Koran in accordance with his views, and believing that Abu Bekr was an usurper. The two great sects arose in consequence of this rejection of Ali; they are those of Persia, just referred to, known as the Alyites, Fatimites, or Shias, the latter title signifying secretaries: and the Sonnites or Traditionists, the orthodox adherents to the claims of Abu Bekr and the three kalifs after him who held the office before Ali. Thus it seemed that Islam was ready to break up into sects as soon as the bond that held the prophet and his followers together was broken.

If there was discontent with the restrictions of the new religion before the prophet's death, when he was merely beginning to show the infirmities of age, they were increased many fold when it was known throughout Arabia that he was actually dead. Many were ready to say, "If he had really been a prophet of Allah, he would not have died; and there were few like the chief of Taif to rise up and say: "Children, ye were the latest converts to Islam, will ye be the first to renounce it?" There were many ready to exclaim: "We will continue to pray, but we will no longer bring tribute to Medina." All who were bound by interest only loosened their allegiance; all who had been converted only by the sword looked to that weapon for help in breaking their bonds; all who were uneasy under the rites and

ceremonies of the faith thought that the moment for relief had arrived. From the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea there was a general cry: "Can Islam be shaken off?" and the same question was reëchoed from the Indian Ocean to the sands of the Syrian desert.

The first duty of Abu Bekr—the mild, but the forcible also—was to quiet these premonitory ebullitions of rebellion before opposition to Islam should gain such strength as to be irresistible. He had cried havoc and let slip the dogs of war with effect when he commissioned Osama to establish the quiet of death upon the northern borders, and he determined to use equally strong means in settling the troubles that now threatened. He divided the entire territory of Arabia into districts, and eleven separate expeditions were prepared, commissioned to summon every province to allegiance or destruction, in accordance with a proclamation that was now issued.

The spirit that was to control the future movements is shown in the case of certain of the inhabitants of Nejd, who came offering to keep all their tribes quiet if they might be permitted to pray but not pay tribute. A solemn convocation discussed the question whether this compromise should not be allowed; whether it was right, indeed, to wage war against a people who professed the unity of Allah and said the prayers prescribed by the prophet. Abu Bekr settled the question once for all, by declaring that Islam was one and indivisible; that they who refused a part of the demands were apostates with whom the Koran permitted no cove-

nants to be made, and that it made no difference to him how numerous they might be, he should proceed against them after the manner of Mohammed, who had never counted the number of any opposing forces. Even strong Omar was surprised at the firmness of the kalif. He had at first been willing to acquiesce in the compromise, but now he exclaimed: "Abu Bekr has more faith alone than all we together!"

To whom should the new kalif look for support in the performance of the weighty duties of his position? Doubtless, one would think, to the warriors upon whom the prophet had relied; but, no: he kept these strong men at home, saying that he needed them for counsel. They had been his rivals in candidacy for the office he held, and perhaps he did not care to place them in command of great armies and send them out among those from whom they might recruit partisans to oust him from his position. Thus, Omar and Othman and Ali were kept at home, while the greatest reliance was placed upon that Kalid who had, as we know, before the death of the prophet, won the sobriquet, "The Sword of Allah"; and it was to his bravery, daring, and dash, to his cool self-possession in the face of danger, that Islam owed its remarkable progress; he it was who was destined to bring to fealty again the detached tribes all over the peninsula. Kalid ranged first to the north and east from Medina, carrying devastation and terror in his train, and proudly receiving the trembling Bedawins back to their lost allegiance. Complaint was carried to Abu Bekr that

Kalid was over cruel, but the kalif pardoned him, alleging that his orders had been misunderstood, and adding when Omar demanded his deposition: "I shall not sheathe a sword that Allah has drawn against the infidels!" In the course of his campaigns Kalid encountered the last remaining "false" prophet, Muselima, the "Little Moslem," who ranged the province of Yemana, eastward from Mecca (A.D. 633.).

By the juggling tricks of the necromancer, this adventurer had deceived many of the tribes of that region, and had, by pretended miracles, led them to embrace his wretched imitation of Islam. Kalid met him on the sandy plain of Akraba, and the hosts fought with the utmost desperation. With the "false" prophet it was the fury of despair; with the host of Kalid the infatuation of fanaticism. A Moslem lance brought the leader of the Bedawins to the dust and Kalid was victorious. The conflict was so remarkable among the many bloody fields of Arabia that the place took the name, "The Garden of Death."

The inhabitants of Yemana had been thus conquered at great cost, for large numbers of the Moslems fell before their enemies; and among those thus cut off were many who belonged to the important class known as Readers,—men who preserved the Koran in their memory. So many of these fell, indeed, that it gave rise to a well-grounded fear lest the precious book itself might be lost through the death of all those who knew it. The result was that a plan was formed for collecting the

text, for up to this time there had been no complete copy of it, the parts that the "Companions of Mohammed," and the Readers did not carry in their memory being written on scattered pieces of skins and leaves of the palm, on bones and leather. The sacred duty of collecting these fragments was devolved upon a commission composed of the most capable of the two classes just mentioned, and an official text was prepared. It was deposited for preservation with Hafsa, one of the widows of the prophet, daughter of Omar. The collection was made in a style that we should call haphazard; and, as we read it now in the translations of Sale, Lane, and others, seems disconnected, obscure, and even incoherent. Of arrangement there seems to be none, unless the principle of placing the longest suras at the beginning be considered a plan, and even this is not systematically adhered to.*

Kalid continued his fierce work of reconstruction until the interior was quiet; others carried the conviction of the sword throughout the region along the shores of the Persian Gulf, through Oman, to Mahra, and afterwards Yemen and Hadramawt were brought to terms, though not without the interposi-

*In "The Speeches of Mohammed," by Stanley Lane-Poole, one gets a good idea of the best portions of the Koran, without being obliged to search through many tedious suras. In the translation by the Rev. John Medows Rodwell, the suras are arranged in a probable chronological order, and the difference between the poetical passages and the prose chapters plainly indicated. The paraphrastic version of Sale is prefaced by a valuable introduction, and the same is true of the very scholarly and much more sinewy translation by Professor Palmer.

tion of several "miracles" which greatly helped the faithful. Thus the first year of the kalifate passed; it was successful in bringing back the apostacised, but at an enormous expense of blood and misery, and no one could tell how securely the irresponsible wanderers of the desert were now united to the old faith, unaccustomed as they ever had been to own any allegiance besides that acknowledged to their own tribes.

During the year (633) Fatima died, and Ali then joined the other "Companions of the Prophet," in attending upon the kalif's court, setting aside the grievance that he had felt at being passed over in the election. He probably found that it was better policy to fall in with the current, at least to appearance, than to fight against popular feeling, though he never forgot that he had been the only person called kalif by the prophet.

The tribes of the desert and the Arabs of the towns and cities began to feel, before the first year closed, that Islam was not to be shaken off.

XXV.

REACHING OUT TO CHALDEA AND BABYLONIA.

DESPOTS have always found it necessary to employ their subjects in foreign war from time to time, in order to keep them from feeling the galling chains by which they are bound or to hear their clanking; and it came to pass that when the kalif had all the tribes of Arabia under control, he saw no better way to restrain them from new revolts than by tempting them to make inroads upon their neighbors. Nothing could have been better planned by a ruler acquainted with the volatile nature of his subjects. There was no question about the direction that the fighting should take; there was no outlook to the southward, nor to any quarter, in fact, except to the region of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and to the land of Syria.

Extending from the head of the Persian Gulf to the Dead Sea, there is a range of desert wilderness which is shaded off to the north until it is lost in the fertile plains of Southern Asia Minor. Chaldea and Babylonia occupied the rich region south of the river Tigris, watered by the Euphrates, and were known as Irak of the Arabs, as distinguished from Irak of the Persians, which corresponded somewhat nearly to the modern kingdom of Persia. North-

west of Irak was Mesopotamia, literally the land between the rivers, called also the Island, the rich land from which Abraham came. Irak of Arabia was at this time under the jurisdiction of Persia, and the wandering Arabs who roamed over the broad desert were tributary to Persia when they pitched their tents on the eastern side, and to Rome when sojourning on the side towards Syria; though they were at no time trusty allies or subjects. The region of Irak contains many relics of a former civilization; there are the mounds that mark the site of old Babylon.*

> " 'T was here, beneath this dark and silent mound,
> Where ages heap their nameless wrecks around,
> That he, the last great king, before his fall,
> Spread his famed feast, and lit his gorgeous hall."

Farther to the south are the ruins known as the Tower of Babel, and to the north, at the time of which we are writing, was a city called Medain (the Twin City) because it occupied the site of two more ancient towns.

> " Two cities moulder here—and can it be,
> Selucia ! Ctesphon ! we gaze on ye ?
> Boast of the Greek and pride of Parthia's kings,
> How has your glory flown on eagle wings ! . . .
> And here dwelt Kosroes, Persia's tasteful king,
> Lapped in each joy that power and splendor bring;
> Here blazed that throne, all formed of pearls and gold.
> Like sunset cloud round Mythra's chariot rolled. . . .
> The soul in dreams half thought her in the skies,
> Mistaking earth for star-bright paradise ! "

Some distance south of Birs Nimrud, the pile

* For an account of these localities, see " The Story of Chaldea," chapter one, and also other portions of that volume.

wrongly supposed to mark the site of the Tower of Babel, and but three miles from the site of the future city of Kufa, was the city of Hira, the rich capital of the province of the same name. This was the first point toward which Abu Bekr determined to send his armies. He directed Kalid, fresh from the victories of which we have just given a brief account, to advance from the southward, and ordered another army to approach from the north, in the spring of the year 633. Kalid was the first to encounter the enemy, and, in true Arabian fashion, he sent a haughty letter, saying: "Accept the faith of Islam and thou art safe; or else pay tribute, thou and thy people; if thou refusest, thou shalt have thyself to blame; for a people is upon thee loving death even as thou lovest life." The Persians thought that an army of Arabs could be easily dispersed, and hastened to find the approaching enemy. They encamped by some water-springs, and when Kalid came up there was a desperate struggle for possession of them. It is said that the Persians were bound together by ropes or chains, determined to perish if they could not conquer. Kalid fell upon them with his usual fury, and was victorious after great carnage. The Battle of the Chains was the name given to the conflict (spring of 633).

Again and again was Kalid victorious over the Persians; and as he advanced he sang to his soldiers: "Behold the riches of the land; its paths drop fatness; food is as the stones of Arabia. It were worth our while to fight here for worldly advantage only, but in a holy war,—how much more noble!

These fair fields and paradise!" Thus he went onward to Hira, sacking towns on his way, and stopping once to send some of the rich spoil to the kalif, to give him a taste of what was to come. After reaching Hira, it did not take long to bring it to terms; its commander fled, and the people were very glad to effect a treaty binding themselves to pay a yearly tribute to the kalif.

The inhabitants of the region about followed the example of those of Hira, and thus the career of conquest was successfully begun. Five times a day the muezzin climbed to his tower in this Persian capital, as he did at Mecca and Medina, and called the faithful to prayer; and besides, Kalid celebrated there a special service in honor of his victory.

We can well spare description of many of the battles that preceded and followed the capture of Hira;—the Battle of the River of Blood (May, 633), and such like, do not offer attractions to us, and we pass them over; sufficient that after victories and repulses many, Kalid fought a notable battle at Firdah, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, at a point where Mesopotamia, Irak, and Syria may be said to touch, if, indeed, any thing so exact may be predicated of territories so little defined (January 21, 634). It was a long and frightful struggle, and as many as one hundred thousand are reported, in the exaggerated rhetoric of the East, to have bitten the dust. Kalid was restrained from attacking Medain, though he much wished to; and as the sacred month had now returned, he determined to refresh his soul

by a pilgrimage to Mecca. Unknown and almost alone, he found his difficult way over the intervening desert, and actually returned to camp before his absence had been noticed. Thus the great general mixed his bloodshedding with his devotion.

The campaign against the Romans in Syria was entrusted to a less successful general; but it comprised a larger number of veterans of the wars of the prophet, who were expected to be invincible now as then; but it was not so. The expedition was forced to retreat after its first campaign, and Abu Bekr sent out reinforcements, which he personally bade farewell in words intended to stimulate them to the utmost exertions for the cause, but even this did not suffice, and Kalid was called from Irak to give his powerful aid.

Heraclius, on his part, was determined to repel the invasion at whatever cost; he bethought him of his victories over the Persians, and asked himself if he could allow a band of wandering Arabs to put a stop to his progress or even interrupt his career for a day.

Abu Bekr massed all his forces on the banks of the Yermuk River,* east of the sea of Galilee, be-

* Laurence Oliphant, who travelled through this region, gives in "The Land of Gilead" (p. 94, Am. ed.; p. 87, Eng. ed.) a sketch of a gorge of the Yermuk, which shows the appearance of the celebrated battlefield. He speaks of sitting on a broken column on the verge of the precipice and looking down at the winding river five hundred feet below, while "traces of a departed grandeur" lay strewn in every direction. There are abundant remains of an ancient city surrounded by walls apparently impregnable, built in three tiers.

tween Damascus and Bostra, and there Heraclius also brought his great army, estimated at ninety thousand men. Week after week these vast bodies faced each other, engaging in petty skirmishes from time to time, but neither accomplishing any thing decisive. It was when matters were in this condition that Kalid was peremptorily, and against his will, called to march from distant Irak to the Yermuk; but he was undaunted. In a few days he fell unexpectedly upon Tadmor (Palmyra) and took it. Some accounts say also that he captured Bostra, which became the first important city of Syria to yield to Moslem power.*

The plain of Wacusa, in which the armies lay, is described as bounded on three sides by sheer precipices, with a ravine on the remaining side which left only space sufficient for the passage of a military road by which it was commanded. The Romans occupied the plain, and the Moslems commanded the entrance to it. The Roman army was increased by large reinforcements and threatened to annihilate the Saracens; but when, in September, 634, the conflict was finally precipitated, the soldiers of Kalid fought with their usual desperation, and the Romans began to fall back, until, finally, vast numbers of them were driven into the deep chasm, and thousands perished in this humiliating manner. On the morrow, Kalid took possession of the tent of the Roman commander, the great booty was divided,

* Ockley describes the siege of Bostra with romantic detail, and the accurate Caussin de Perceval (ii, 435) treats it as a fact; but Sir Wm. Muir says that he finds no foundation for the narrative.

and the thousands of dead Moslems were buried on the field. Syria was conquered; but the news arrived at almost the same time that Abu Bekr was no more, and the kalif's death was followed by an order that Kalid should deliver up his command.

While these stirring events were happening, the aged Abu Bekr had been truly approaching his end. During the summer he had failed considerably under the weight of anxiety caused by the difficult operations in the field that he was obliged to oversee, though he remained strong enough to the very close of his life to attend to his official duties. He devolved upon Omar the duties of public prayer, as Mohammed had laid them upon him, and finally he issued a decree appointing him kalif in his stead, giving him upon his dying bed a caution to temper his natural severity with moderation. The first act of the new kalif was to send to Kalid the despatch depriving him of his command, an act that promised little for the magnanimity of the coming reign, since it was the result of a long-treasured desire, formed at the time when Abu Bekr had refused to depose Kalid for alleged cruelty.

XXVI.

PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA CONQUERED.

THE seeds planted by the prophet were now springing up and bearing fruit; and the fruit was not that to be expected from lives dominated by fasting, prayer, and dependence upon Allah. The purest teachings of the Koran were generally ignored; and it was the license that it gave which seemed to have the greatest influence upon the faithful. When, for example, the prophet wrote the restrictions of marriage and concubinage, he had in mind the simple condition of affairs around him at the time; he did not look forward to the days when the Moslems should go forth as conquering hosts.*

Great changes were now coming over his people; they were shedding the blood of their fellow creatures in torrents. At the Battle of the River of

* "Mahomet, in the act of restricting, necessarily sanctioned this enormous evil. His limit was then and there a prodigious moral reform, but it must always stand in the way of any more complete reform. . . . The difference between one wife and two is every thing. . . . His followers have found it much easier to remember that he allowed four wives than that he allowed only four."—E. A. Freeman, "The History and Conquests of the Saracens," page 69.

Blood (A.D. 633) seventy thousand men of Irak were butchered, if the accounts are to be believed, in order that the Arab might pitch his tents at will throughout the rich valleys of the Eastern rivers; and when the Romans were pushed by scores of thousands into the gulf at Wacusa, it was that the Moslems might riot in luxury, add to their harems, and enrich themselves with spoils. Each soldier received permission to take as slaves all the women of the conquered territories that he wished, and thus the basest passions were encouraged in a manner that the prophet had never imagined possible.

When Omar took up the reins of government, he declared with an oath that he would guide the Moslems in the way in which they ought to go, and no one who was acquainted with his character doubted that he would guide them with a strong hand. His first act has already been mentioned; his next was to prepare more soldiers to go to Irak; and these did not volunteer with much alacrity, for the Persians were now feared more than they had been when unknown. Meantime the Moslems were obliged to retire from Hira, and encountering the Persians at a place not far from Babylon, where the Euphrates was spanned by a bridge of boats, they were routed by a great army reinforced by elephants, which trampled them under their feet, and obliged them to flee down the river towards the site of the Battle of the River of Blood, where they had surfeited their own sanguinary ambition but a few months before. Four thousand Mos-

lems were cut off, and two thousand more rushed in confusion away from the field, carrying the news of defeat to Medina (Oct., 634). The haughty Omar met them with firmness, but did not chide them, though it must have been a sad reverse, coming, as it did, but seven weeks after the wonderful victory of Wacusa.

Recruits were immediately provided, but they could not be sent to Persia in time to serve the needs of the army there, and if additions had not been received from other sources, the Moslems must have been forced out of their position. As it fell out, they were able to make advances, to repossess themselves of Hira, and finally to make themselves masters of Mesopotamia, and to ravage the rich region almost at will, gaining immense stores of provisions and spoil of all sorts.* This victory excited the Moslems to greater efforts, but it also nerved the Persians to put forth their utmost strength to repel the invaders, who, though they had been in the land but two years, were making unexpected progress.

The decisive battle was fought in November, 635, at Kadesia, a place lying southwest of Hira.† There

* The important battle in this campaign (A.D. 635) was that of Boweib, near Kufa, at which Motanna, a noble and tried commander, led the Saracen troops. The struggle was long and severe, but the Persians were utterly defeated, and great spoil encouraged the Moslems. Motanna, who never recovered from the wounds received on that day, is ranked second only to the great Kalid for coolness, strategic skill, and desperate courage. See Sir William Muir's "The Early Kalifate," page 139.

† Caussin de Perceval puts this battle down under date February–March, 636, and Müller gives 637 as the year.

the hosts of the Persians gathered during the summer, until over a hundred thousand troops were marshalled against the comparatively small army of Moslems, and they were supported by many elephants and large bodies of cavalry. As the day for the struggle approached the Moslems nerved themselves for the fight by listening to verses from the Koran.

Stir up the faithful to the fight! Twenty of you who stand firm shall vanquish two hundred, and a hundred shall put a thousand to flight.

Say to the infidels, Ye shall be worsted, and in gehenna shall ye be gathered together.

Victory is from Allah, he is mighty and wise.

When ye confront a troop, stand firm, and make oft mention of Allah, that it may fare well with you.

Verily, he that turneth his back shall draw down upon him the wrath of Allah.

Let the faithful trust in Allah; he hath already succored you at Bedr, when ye were the weaker.

And ye be steadfast, and fear Allah, and the foe come upon you in haste, Allah will succor you with five thousand angels.

When the day for the battle arrived no Arab stirred until the hour for mid-day prayer had passed, but then carnage began in earnest. The Moslems fought with the conviction that paradise was before them, hosts of angels around them, and Iblis behind them. Believing that Allah would bring them the victory, they slaughtered without mercy, and finally put to flight the huge elephants that had been roaming about like great castles on foot, carrying consternation with them; but the victory was not yet gained. The second day gave the Moslems new courage and depressed the Persians, for Omar had

managed to get his reinforcements to the field from Syria, and the elephants were not in a condition to be placed in the ranks. The Arabs shouted Allahu Akbar! and recited their endless genealogies; they saw two thousand of their men fall in their tracks,

OTHMAN. ABU BEKR.

ALI. OMAR.

SEALS OF EARLY KALIFS.

but rejoiced that ten thousand Persians had bitten the dust. The third day found the elephants aiding the Persians again, but more Syrians had arrived to support Islam, and all day long the carnage continued, not even stopping when darkness fell upon the

scene. The Night of Clangor, as it has been called, is said not to have had its equal for intensity of turmoil and for tiger-like ferocity; it ended in the complete route of the Persians and decided the fate of the land. The news was carried to Omar, who had been intently waiting;—"Allah hath scattered the Persians!" He knew at once that he was placed in the front rank of the world's sovereigns; but his pride was not stirred; he bore himself with the same calm majesty as before.

The victory of Kadesia was followed by the complete subjection of Mesopotamia, and the capture of the royal city of Medain with rich booty (A.D. 637). Another result was the foundation of two new capitals (A.D. 638): Bassora, in the delta of the Euphrates, some seventy miles from the Persian Gulf; and Kufa, about the same distance south of the site of Babylon; both of which were afterwards very influential in the world of Islam. They were endowed with confiscated lands, and became hotbeds of faction and centres of the most characteristic Oriental luxury. Literature, politics, and theology were cultivated in them, and their population is said to have reached nearly two hundred thousand persons; though the unhealthy situation of Bassora caused it to fall behind. At the present time Kufa is in ruins, and Bassora is a city with some trade carried on with little enterprise.

While these important operations had been going forward in the east, the forces of Omar were by no means idle in the west, and Palestine was the scene of movements to which we now turn. It is not easy

to present to our minds a picture of the civilization that before this time existed along the route from the mouths of the Euphrates to Damascus and the Mediterranean; nor to remember that there was a commerce of considerable proportions carried on throughout the vast region. After the slaughter on the Yermuk, the Moslem army received directions to move upon the far-famed city of Damascus, though it was learned that it had been largely reinforced in view of the dangerous proximity of the Arab hordes. The famous city, combining reminiscences of Abraham and Paul, of David and Ahab and Alexander the Great, claimed to have been founded by Uz, grandson of Shem, in remote antiquity. Despite the changing fortune of many ages, it still continues the centre of large trade, and comprises an active population of one hundred and fifty thousand souls; and it is now as it was then, a place of the deepest interest. The beauty of the surrounding country and the richness of the outlying pleasure-grounds were a revelation to the warriors of the desert as they gazed upon the plain in which the city lies; and they fondly imagined that there was nothing more entrancing in paradise; they were ready to enter with enthusiasm upon a campaign for its possession.

Damascus was not greatly alarmed by the approach of an army of wanderers from the desert, which, it was believed, would flee before the approaching cold that might be expected in that latitude, at an elevation of two thousand feet above the sea. In the minds of the Saracens, however, there was no thought of giving up, and month after month passed, while

they still sat down before the massive walls (A.D. 635). There were episodes of bravery and daring, which tradition has exaggerated into stirring, though savage, tales of prowess; but we must pass them over. As the Medes and Persians of old had taken advantage of the occurrence of a festival to capture ancient Babylon unawares, so now the Moslems, learning that the Roman governor was celebrating a feast in honor of a son's birthday, ordered a general assault upon Damascus. Surprising the unwatchful guardians of the walls, they entered, crying "Allahu Akbar!" and penetrated to the very heart of the city, when they learned to their disgust that the Roman governor, promptly making up his mind that resistance would be hopeless, had hastened to surrender. By the terms of the capitulation, the Moslems were to receive one half of all the buildings, public and private, of the gold and silver and lands; the entire imperial domain and all the property of such citizens as had fled during the siege. Besides this, an annual tribute was to be paid to the kalif.

After so great a success, the Arabs wished to advance upon Homs, ancient Emesa, situated on the eastern bank of the Orontes, some ninety miles farther to the north; but there was an army in the rear at about the same distance, at Fihl, ancient Pella, a few miles below the outlet of the Sea of Galilee, and against that it was thought necessary to make the next movement. The army accordingly marched back upon the pilgrim-road towards Medina, until a point was reached at which the turn is made towards the Jordan; the Yermuk was re-

crossed, and an encampment was effected before the doomed town. After a time, in the summer of 635, the Romans in Fihl found their resources failing, and determined to make an attack upon the Moslems, but they encountered a fierce repulse; their leader was killed, their army routed, and the whole of the region of the Jordan, as well as all of Central Syria as far east as Tadmor in the Wilderness, fell under the sway of the impetuous Moslems. The court of Byzantium was listless, and the patriotism of the Syrians was never strong; the Bedawins of the country welcomed the change of rulers.

After the fall of Fihl, a portion of the army was sent to co-operate in Irak, and gained the success that we have already noticed.

XXVII.

JERUSALEM CAPTURED.

EVERY new victory gave the Arabs increased courage and ambition; and well might they be excited as they thought of the wonderful progress that they had already made in their encroachments upon the domains of those two vast empires which had previously hemmed them in,—those two empires that had so lately divided the civilized world between them. It verily looked as though the prophet had reason, when he commanded his followers to go forth and bring the nations to allegiance to Allah, for surely they could not have been more completely successful in their sanguinary work.

There was no reason now for not advancing upon Homs, and consequently, leaving a governor to rule Damascus and an army to continue the work of conquest in Palestine, the main force took the route to the northward, crossing the Yermuk again, passing by the ruins of the splendid city of Gadara, beyond Jordan, (where the miracle of healing the demoniac was performed, where the tombs, cut in the rocky hillsides, its most interesting remains, are still inhabited by dangerous troglodytes,) and leaving Baalbeck and Mount Lebanon on their left hand, they

invested the city. The Romans thought to make a dash upon Damascus, but their intention became known and was thwarted. Heraclius, who was himself present, retired to the ancient city of Edessa, in the northern borders of Mesopotamia, evidently expecting to rouse the Bedawins in his behalf, but he was not successful, and the town surrendered, leaving the Moslems free to carry their devastation northward. (Spring of 636 A.D.)

As they progressed, one city after another gave up without resistance * (excepting that Laodicea was taken by assault), and they appeared before Aleppo, fortified with the strongest castle in all Syria. There was a division of counsel among the inhabitants of this wealthy city of trade, and though there was some hard fighting, the timidity of capital forced the people to give way, and they offered a ransom for the place. The bargain was fairly made, but the more soldierly inhabitants would not permit it to be carried out, and the siege was prolonged. At last the Saracens feigned to retire, and sent a secret band to storm the castle, which was then taken with great bloodshed.

The next move was upon the capital of the Roman government in the East, the luxurious and beautiful city of Antioch, lying directly west from Aleppo. It was strongly fortified, but the courage of the warrior had not been cultivated by the inhabitants. A single sharp encounter outside of the walls served to dishearten them, and the city was in-

* Baalbeck (ancient Heliopolis) and Kinnisrin (ancient Chalcis) obtained a truce on payment of a considerable tribute.

gloriously given up. The emperor, when he saw the result that was sure to come, called a meeting of bishops and wept over the fate of Syria; he even gave his consent to an attempt to assassinate the kalif, and a messenger was sent to Medina to accomplish the deed; but finally, despairing of his cause, he secretly hurried from the city, and reaching the sea, took ship for Constantinople. The Saracens had now made their most direct thrust at the religion of the People with the Book, for no city that they had yet taken was nearly so closely connected with the early history of the Christian church as this. There the followers of Jesus had received their name; there St. Paul had first exercised his ministerial office; thence he went out on his first, second, and third missionary journeys; there Ignatius had been condemned by Trajan to be torn by wild beasts; and there the golden-mouthed Chrysostom had first displayed his remarkable gifts as a preacher. Its walls were lofty and thick, and extended for miles over ravines, and even mountain summits; so beautiful was it, indeed, that it was called the Queen of the Orient. It had been captured by the Great Pompey, almost destroyed by an earthquake the following century, had been the seat of the Macedonian rulers of Syria, and the Roman governors, and it was destined to have still more noteworthy vicissitudes in after centuries.

While the armies of Islam were thus pushing their faith at the point of the lance, the kalif at Medina was not forgetful of his mission as a soldier of the creed of the prophet who had left it as his dying

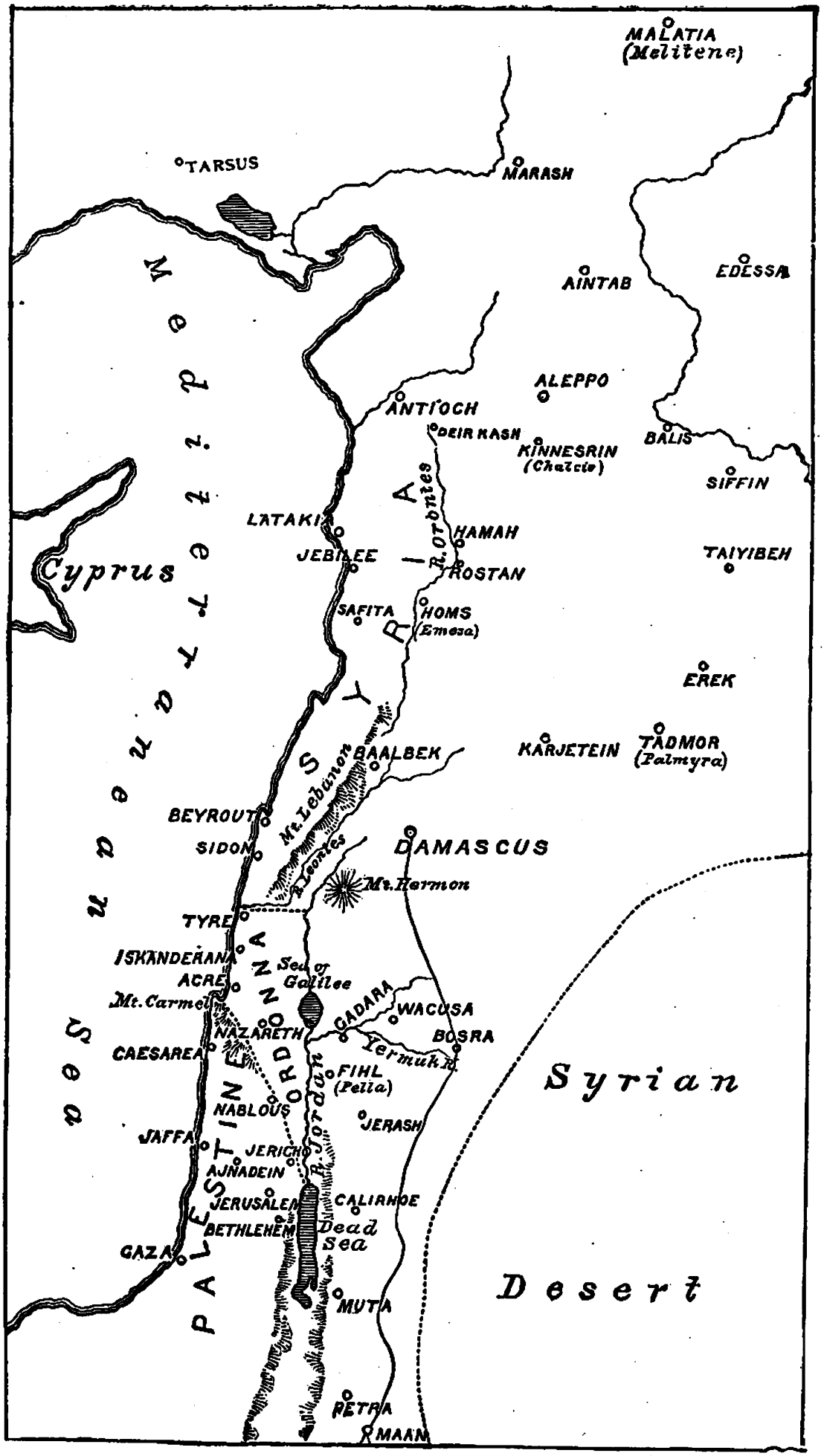
order that in Arabia there should be but one religion. There were Jews and Christians in the land still, and some of them had accumulated much wealth; they were not accused of being traitors to the government, but they were aliens to the faith, and as such were not to be suffered to contaminate the peninsula. They were peremptorily directed to give up the graves of their forefathers and the homes of their childhood. Other abiding-places were, it is true, offered them, and they were not ousted with sudden haste, but it was none the less a grievance hard to be borne; and, though history gives little account of the circumstances of their expatriation, we may imagine without difficulty the heartrendings with which it was accompanied.

The increase of national revenue from conquest called at this time for orderly arrangements for the distribution of spoil, and Omar organized a Diwan, or Department of the Exchequer (named from the Persian word for the register in which its records were kept), under the rules of which the booty was assigned to the different classes authorized to receive it, in accordance to their rank, from the "Mothers of the Faithful" down to the ordinary women, who each received one tenth of a man's share; and even lower, for the slaves were not forgotten. This scale afforded the basis upon which the aristocracy of the nation was founded. It perpetuated the military spirit, by making this income dependent upon successful war; and it firmly united the whole population by interesting all in national aggrandizement. Large numbers of citizens emigrated at this time to

Kufa and Bassora, and still held their rights as recorded in the registers of the Diwan.

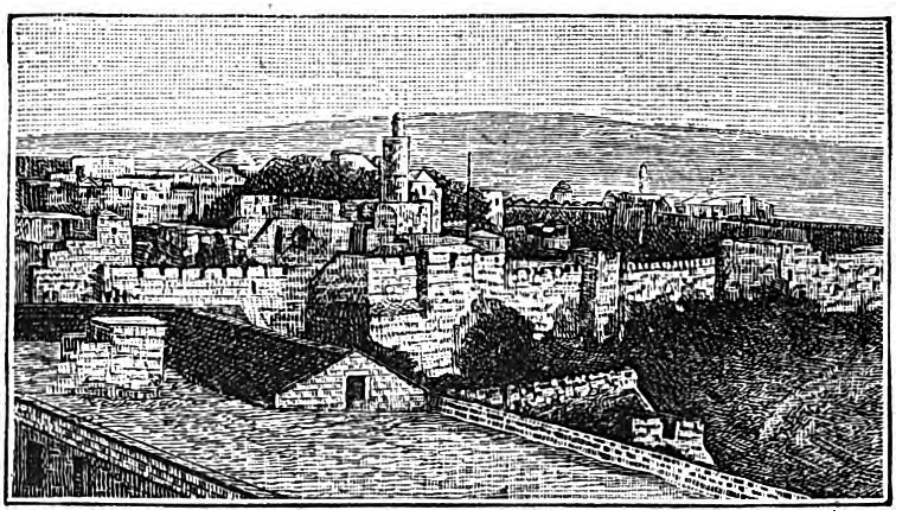
At the same time that Abu Bekr had sent out his armies into Northern Palestine, he had commissioned that Amr, who had been converted to Islam when the great Kalid had given it his allegiance, to advance upon Palestine, or Filistin, by which name he signified the region south and west of a line drawn from Mount Carmel on the Mediterranean to the northern end of the Dead Sea. The province of Jordan, called Ordonna by the Arabs, had fallen into their hands after their victories in the north, but the Romans in Filistin felt more secure, since they had the seaport of Cæsarea open on one hand for reinforcements, while Egypt was on the other, and because its strong places were well garrisoned.

In the spring of 636 Amr prepared to begin active operation in his department, and first attacked the Romans at Ajnadein, a place west of Jerusalem. We have no details of the struggle, but are simply told that the battle was as fierce and bloody as that in the gorge of the Yermuk, which is as emphatic an expression as the historian thought he could possibly use. The Romans fell back upon Jerusalem, and Amr quickly took possession of Joppa, Gaza, and all the other strongholds that might interfere with his proposed attempt upon the Holy City. The Roman general in command lost courage before Amr actually arrived at the gates of Jerusalem, and hastily retreated in the direction of Egypt, leaving the patriarch to act as he thought best. He asked terms of peace, only stipulating that Omar should



DAMASCUS AND THE REGION AROUND.

come in person to receive the capitulation, because, as tradition asserts, there was a prophecy in the books of the Jews that the city should one day be captured by a king having but three letters in his name, and that of Omar comprised no more in the Arabic tongue. It is said that this tradition, and the military successes of Amr, caused the Roman general to lose heart, and the explanation redeems his courage at the expense of his superstition, which we must confess, however, was only that of his age.



VIEW OF A PORTION OF THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

The sight of a man travelling over the deserts from Medina to Syria is no new one to us; but on an occasion so exceptional as this, we might well expect to see some circumstances differing from the ordinary. No successor of the prophet had before this journeyed beyond the limits of Arabia; the kalif was now more powerful than the king of Persia or the emperor of the Romans; would he not make through the dominions that he governed so autocratically a progress that would strike admiration and awe into his subjects? No; clad in the plainest

of clothes, he rode a sorrel camel, over the back of which rough saddlebags were thrown containing parched grain in one pouch, and dates and dried fruit in the other; before him hung a sack for water, and behind, a platter of wood out of which he and his companions ate together, as they had at his invitation when he took his meals on the steps of the mosque at Medina. At night he laid himself down beneath a tree or under a tent; in the morning he bowed toward Mecca and offered his devotions before proceeding on his way, and he stopped as occasion demanded to dispense the primitive justice that his subjects called for. Sometimes he varied the monotony of the tedious journey by dismounting and walking while a slave took his seat upon the beast.

When Omar arrived within a day's journey of Jerusalem he was surprised to see his representatives approaching to welcome him; their beasts and themselves caparisoned in the rich stuffs of Damascus; and he cried out in disgust: "Is it thus that ye come out to meet me? Have two years effected such a change?" at the same time casting a handful of gravel in the faces of the astonished generals. They threw aside their gay robes and displayed their armor, at which the kalif cried: "Enough! Go forward!" Upon Omar's arrival at Jerusalem, an interview was arranged with the patriarch, and terms settled for the surrender.

The Christians were bound to build no new churches, and the Moslems were always to be admitted to those then standing; the doors of their homes were ever to be open to all strangers and

travellers; Moslems journeying were to be entertained free of expense for three days at a time; Jews should not interfere with the conversion of any to Islam; should rise and stand before Moslems as sign of respect; they should adopt different dress from the Moslems, have different names, a different style of parting the hair, and different modes of talking; they could not use the Arabic tongue, sell wine, ride upon saddles, bear arms, ring the bells of their churches, set up crosses, nor take any servant that had belonged to a Moslem; they could not have windows overlooking Moslems in their houses, and were always to wear the same style of dress, and have girdles about the waist.

These terms agreed upon, Omar entered the city on foot, accompanied by the patriarch, with whom he conversed about the antiquities that met his eye; the patriarch the while, according to Christian tradition, loathing from his very heart the filthy son of the desert as he looked at his coarse garments of wool, patched as they were with sheepskin and soiled by the long journey. When, at last, he saw the kalif seated in the Church of the Resurrection, he exclaimed: "Verily, this is the 'abomination of desolation' predicted by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!"

XXVIII.

HOW EGYPT AND PERSIA WERE CONQUERED.

OMAR did not care to remain long at Jerusalem. He had left Ali in charge of affairs in Medina, and felt no uneasiness on that account; but it was some thing new for the kalif to be absent from the City of the Prophet at all. During his stay he selected as a site on which to build a mosque, the place from which tradition affirmed that Mohammed had taken his departure to heaven on the occasion of his remarkable 'visit' to paradise,—a spot marked, too, by the stone on which Jacob had rested his head, where the faithful were long permitted to lay their hands in the indentation left by the prophet's foot! He made arrangements for governing Syria in two divisions, and prepared for an invasion of Egypt, then weak and ready to fall into the hands of any master strong enough to make an attempt to win the prize.

The kalif accomplished the return to Medina in the same lowly manner that he had journeyed thence; and he was welcomed with great joy, for the people had somewhat feared lest the city at which they expected all mankind would be assembled at the resurrection might have so much charmed him as to tempt him to make it his permanent abode.

It seems evident that Omar now began to feel secure of the conquests his army had made, for at about this time he renewed his alienation from Kalid, who had been so valiant in the support of Islam. After his return from Jerusalem, he gave him a brief command at Kinnesrin (Chalcis), a city not far from Aleppo, which, as we have noted, Kalid had himself captured; but in 638, he brought him to trial at Homs for alleged misappropriation of funds, and condemned him to be deposed and fined. Upon this, the broken-down general died in neglect at Homs, in the year 642. The kalif was mortal, and if he had supposed there was to be need of the services of this valiant man, doubtless he would have found some means to keep him in authority.

During the year 638, the Romans made a last effort to drive the Arabs from Syria; and it failed, though the danger was at one juncture so threatening that the kalif left Medina the second time with the intention of giving his personal assistance to his followers. There was no need, however, for the Bedawin allies of the invaders became alarmed by movements in Mesopotamia, and deserted, after which the Romans were routed by the Moslems. It was in the same year that Cæsarea, the last city in Palestine to succumb, surrendered to Amr, who had long besieged it.

The conquest of Syria was followed in Arabia by months of famine, called the Year of Ashes, because the dry dust of the desert, scattered by the winds, rendered the atmosphere hazy (639). There was also a devastating plague in Syria the same year, which

spread to the valley of Mesopotamia, and down the rivers as far as the new metropolis of Bassora. Though Omar generously set out for Syria to see in what manner he might alleviate the condition of his suffering subjects, he was obliged to yield to the entreaties of his counsellors and return again, after ordering the Arab population to be removed from the infected regions to more salubrious and elevated lands. He said, as he returned to his capital: "I flee from the decree of Allah unto the decree of Allah."

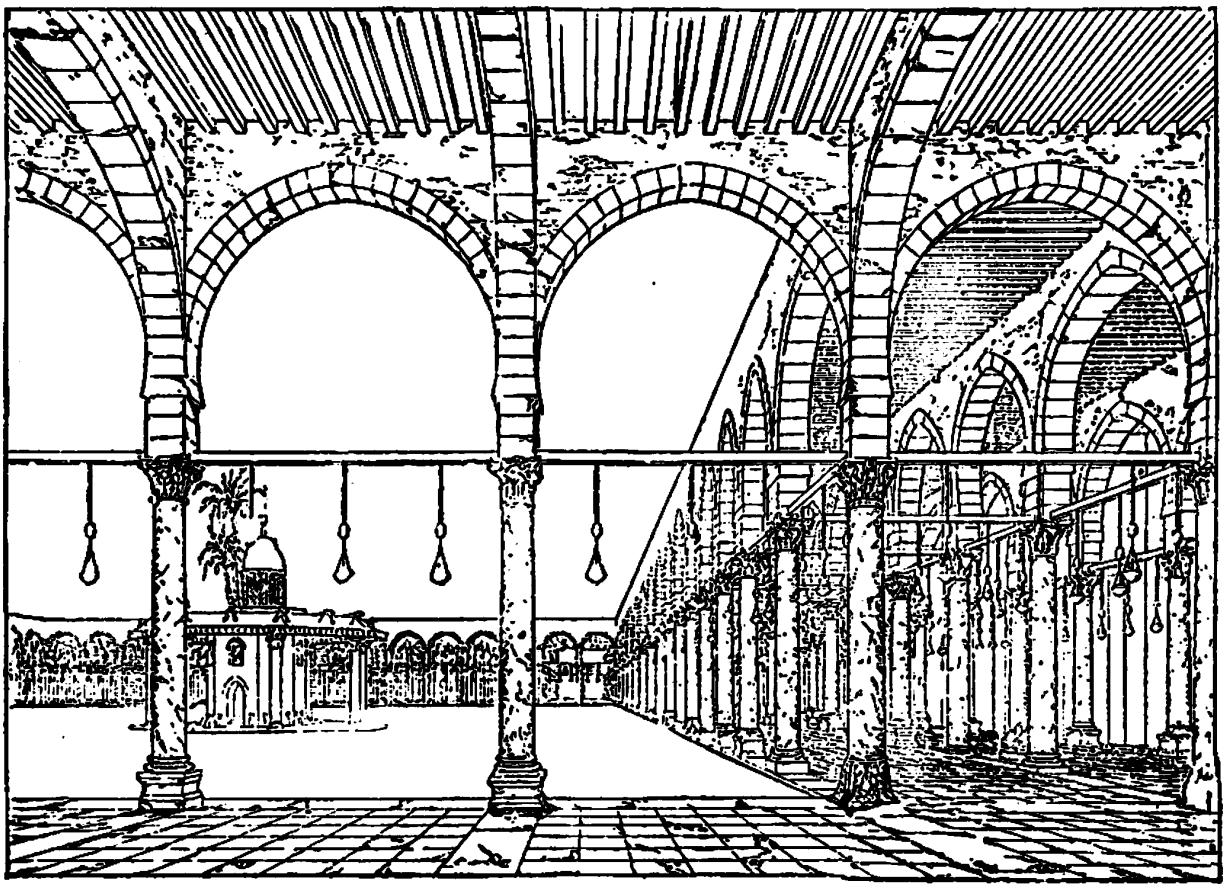
The large number of deaths that occurred in Syria during the plague occasioned great confusion in settling estates. Omar was after all obliged to visit the region, and he went from one end to the other, bringing order out of the confusion. The governorship was left in the hands of Moawia, son of Abu Sofian, a man who, as we shall soon learn, was possessed of great ability and wisdom, and controlled by overweening ambition. On his departure for Medina, Bilal, the aged muezzin who had proclaimed the hour of prayer during the life of the prophet and had resigned the office at his death, once more performed his duties. As the well-remembered cry arose, the strong warriors to whom it had been familiar aforetime were affected to tears, and the air was filled with their sobs. Two years afterward the aged servitor died at Damascus.

Amr was eager to carry out the commission that he had received to make war upon Egypt, and set out in 640 with an army of some four thousand men, which was, however, augmented materially before he reached his destination, when it numbered perhaps

four times as many. The luxurious capital, Alexandria, was the point at which Amr aimed; it was the second city in the Byzantine empire, and through its vast commerce at this time sent provisions of grain to Constantinople, as it formerly had supplied Rome. Commerce is naturally unwarlike and timid, as we have had occasion already to notice; and Egypt was rich as well as weak. Amr lost no time in beginning a siege of Alexandria, and the Byzantines, who might have sent the city succor by sea, allowed the opportunity to pass, owing to their own slackness, and the death of Heraclius which occurred during the progress of the siege (March 11, 641). At last the general in command, and the citizens, lost hope of being able to protect themselves, and surrendered on condition that the place should not be sacked; agreeing to pay the tribute that the Moslems were accustomed to demand, Omar saying: "Tribute is better than spoil, for it continueth!" (A.D. 641) Amr established his head-quarters near Memphis, where, on the site of Babylon, which he destroyed, a station grew up, known as Fostat, "the Encampment" (the present Cairo), and there he laid the foundation of a mosque, which still bears his name. He left the land in the hands of the Egyptians, having established communication by sea with the port of Medina, through which means grain was carried from the country of the pyramids to Arabia.*

* Many writers, following Abulfaraj, affirm that after the capitulation of Alexandria the vast library was destroyed, and its books used in the four thousand baths of the city for fuel, six months being almost too short a time to exhaust the supply. In spite of Dean Milman's assertion, the story is now discredited.

It is related that Amr was not satisfied with the haughty bearing of the natives towards his countrymen, and in order to raise their respect for their conquerors, adopted a singular expedient. He prepared a feast of camels for his army, after their native fashion, and then called the Egyptians to come and see the repast. The next day he prepared a sump-



INTERIOR OF MOSQUE OF AMR AT CAIRO.
(From a drawing by Coste.)

tuous banquet, with all the delicacies of the Nile region, and showed that his warriors feasted with the same good appetites as they had on the previous occasion. Another day he brought his troops out for parade, and when the Egyptians thronged to see the sight, he said to them: "I have shown you the simple mode of life of my people at home; I have

shown you that they relish the dainties of other lands also; and I show you now that they are strong in arms notwithstanding." As the natives went away from the scene, they said one to another: "The Arabs have but to raise the heel upon us and it suffices!" The kalif was naturally much pleased at the success of his general's expedient.

Omar was cautious and did not seem to be in as much haste to advance towards Persia, as he had towards Egypt; but the time was coming for the subjugation of that great and powerful land. Hostilities opened in 637, and continued with varying fortunes, until Yezdegird, its king, overpowered, deprived of his kingdom and his fortunes, and deserted by his followers, finally died (651 A.D.), a refugee, in a miserable hut, beyond the distant Oxus, whither he had fled, taking his way through Ispahan and Merv.*

In the campaigns that thus closed, armies had been sent from Kufa and Bassora; they had besieged and taken Sus, the royal Shushan of ancient Persian memories, making by the way permanent provision for the preservation of the tomb of Daniel the prophet; they had marched east as far as Persepolis, and they had gone northward to Nevahend. At the last place, under the shadow of the lofty peaks of Elwand, they had fought a fierce battle which

* Merv (sometimes written Merou), was one of the capitals of Korassan in the reign of the next kalif. The rule of the Saracens there ended in 874. Like Samarkand and Bokkara, it was the seat of a school of science and letters. Mamun was brought up there. The Seljuks took possession of it in 1037, and there Alp Arslan was buried. In 1221, Merv suffered from Mongol butchery.

brought the inhabitants of Western Persia to terms (642 A.D.). Vast sums had been sent to the treasury at Medina after these successes, but the strong will of the Persian king was not yet broken, and he gathered forces that prolonged the struggle until at last both armies met at Rei (643 A.D.), five or six miles south of Teheran. There Yezdegird was forced upon his fatal flight. Teheran and in fact all Persia was at the mercy of the generals of Omar, whose exploits rivalled those of the great Alexander in the same regions.*

The kalif was now nearing the close of his career; he had been unflinchingly just in his government at home, and inexorable in his severity towards the foes of Islam abroad, and many enemies had been raised up who were ready at any opportune moment to put an end to his life. A mythical story relates that one of those who had smarted under his impartial justice determined to have him assassinated, and sent a man to perform the deed, who climbed into a tree overlooking a place that Omar frequented. When the moment for the murderous act arrived, the man prepared to descend, but, lo, a guardian lion walked about the kalif, ever and anon kissing his feet; and the assassin was led through surprise and fear, not only to desist from his wicked enterprise, but to become a devout Moslem.

Omar was accustomed to visit Mecca annually at the time of the pilgrimage, and on one of these occasions he enlarged the precincts of the Kaaba, and laid out the grand square around it. He found his

* See "The Story of Alexander's Kingdom," by J. P. Mahaffy.

colonies at Kufa and Bassora troublesome to manage; discontent and turbulence disquieted those cities, in which intrigues were destined to grow rankly in the future.

In the seventeenth year after the emigration of Mohammed from Mecca, Omar took pains to establish the era for his people, and made the first new moon in the month Moharrem, of the year of the Hejra, the point for the purpose. Historians have generally made this the 16th of July, 622, though Caussin de Perceval, a most careful investigator of the subject, calculates that it was really the 19th of April.

Among the slaves that had been marched to Medina from the battle-field of Nevahend, was one familiarily known as Abu Lulu, who wrought at the carpenter's bench, making windmills and giving his gains to his Moslem master. One day in the autumn of the year 644, he appeared before Omar asking that he might be relieved from somewhat of his master's oppression. The kalif heard him patiently, but refused to interfere, and Abu Lulu was deeply irritated. The following morning he might have been seen among the worshippers in the mosque, occupying the foremost place. The kalif entered and opened his mouth with the words "Allahu akbar!" when the keen dagger of Abu Lulu was thrust into his back, and he fell to the ground. The Moslems threw themselves upon the assassin, but he killed

[3] See Caussin de Perceval, "*Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*," vol. iii., p. 20. and Muir's "Life of Mahomet," p. 486, and "The Early Califate," pp. 145, 271. See also, p. 121.

some and wounded others, running about in a wildness of irrational despair, and finally stabbed himself to death.

The Commander of the Faithful, as Omar was then called, lingered several days, during which he appointed a commission of five, of the chiefest among those who had been companions of the prophet, to nominate his successor, uttering as his last words the following advice to him who should be chosen:

"Give it as my dying bequest, that he be kind to the men of this city, which gave a home to us and to the faith; that he make much of their virtues and pass lightly over their faults. Bid him treat well the Arab tribes, for, verily, they are the backbone of Islam; the tithe that he taketh from them, let him give it back unto them for the nourishment of their poor. Let him faithfully fulfil the covenant of the prophet to the Jews and Christians. Oh! Allah, I have finished my course; to him that cometh after me I leave the kingdom firmly established and at peace!"

Thus ended the eventful life of the second kalif. He had entered upon office ruler of Arabia only; he closed his career master also of Egypt, Palestine, Irak, Mesopotamia, and Persia. In the exaggerated language of his people, he had taken from the infidels "thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand temples or churches, and founded or endowed fourteen hundred mosques"; but there is no need to magnify his achievements; they are sufficiently remarkable if recounted in simple truth.

Humble as the most lowly, he was accustomed to sit on the steps of the mosque at Medina eating his barley-bread and dates, and he often slept on its porch or in a tree, while wielding a sceptre that the most powerful nations of his time felt and feared.

Omar breathed his last on a Friday in November, 644, and was buried the following day by the side of Abu Bekr and the prophet.

XXIX.

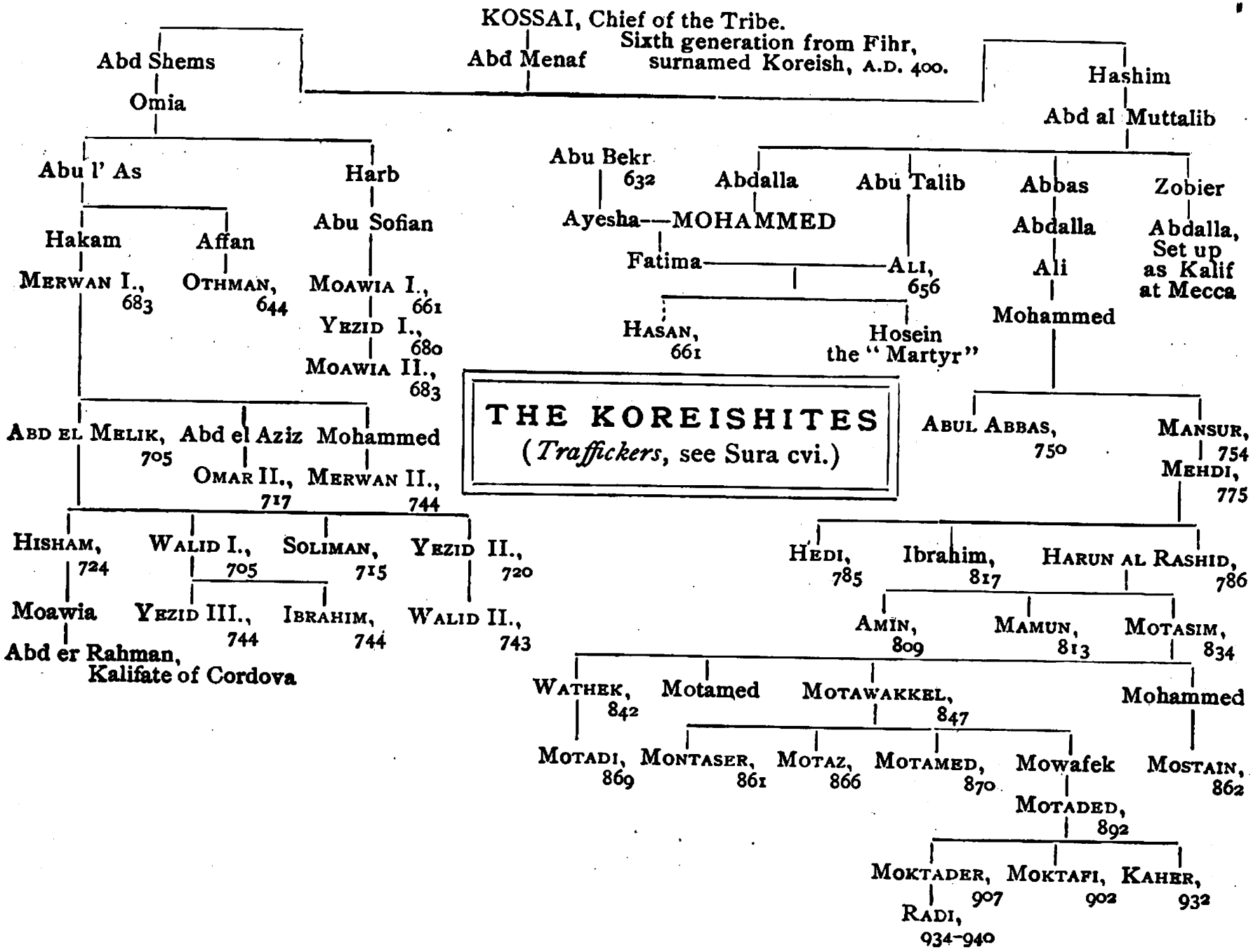
FAVORITISM AND INTRIGUE.

THE golden age of the Saracens was now behind them; they were never again to enjoy a period of uninterrupted internal harmony and of external conquest; they were now to be plunged into strife, sedition, jealous intrigues, and fratricidal bloodshedding, but none the less were they to go on conquering; in spite of every drawback, their religion and the kingdoms that it dominated were to continue, and to remain the same. As there was but one Allah so there could properly be but one prophet, who was not only the mouthpiece of Allah, but also the temporal autocrat whose government was indivisible; so that the success of Islam, if complete, would have placed all the kingdoms of the earth under the kalif of Medina.

When death interrupted the career of Mohammed, it forced him to leave undone some things that he intended to have finished; and the chief of these, we may suppose, was the revision of the Koran. We can never know what difference this would have wrought in Islam; but it is fair to believe that it would have made clear the method by which Moslem rulers were to be chosen, and thus have

relieved the people of the fear of anarchy that came to them when he died, when Abu Bekr died, and, in still larger measure, when the dagger of Abu Lulu took off the great Omar. The commission that Omar had appointed sat for three days in tumultuous conference while the kalif still wrestled with death, and then adjourned to await the result. When the members again met, they wasted still more time in wrangling, — for they represented pretty fairly the rival familes of Islam,—the Hashimites, descended from Abd Menaf, and the Omiades, children of Omia son of Abd Shems, who also was a son of Abd Menaf. The kalifate was offered to Ali on condition that he would agree to govern in accordance with the precedents established by Abu Bekr and Omar; but he declined, saying that he should follow, first, the Koran, secondly, the positive laws of Mohammed, and, where these failed, his own judgment. Both of the former kalifs had been directed by Ali's exposition of the law and interpretation of the traditions. The strife resulted accordingly in the election of Othman, himself one of the commission, who readily agreed to govern in accordance with the Koran and the example of the kalifs who had gone before.

As differing from him in fundamental views, and as a great-grandson of Omia, Othman was highly displeasing to Ali, who belonged, as we know, to the Hashimites; and the dissensions engendered at the moment still endure, though they have lost some of their bitterness. Islam is to-day divided into two principal sects: the Sonnites or Tradi-


KOSSAI, Chief of the Tribe.
Sixth generation from Fihr, surnamed Koreish, A.D. 400.
Abd Shems
Omia
Abu l' As
Harb
Hakam
Affan
Abu Sofian
Merwan I., 683
Othman, 644
Moawia I., 661
Yezid I., 680
Moawia II., 683
Abd el Melik, 705
Abd el Aziz
Mohammed
Omar II., 717
Merwan II., 744
Hisham, 724
Walid I., 705
Soliman, 715
Yezid II., 720
Moawia
Yezid III., 744
Ibrahim, 744
Walid II., 743
Abd er Rahman, Kalifate of Cordova
Abd Menaf
Hashim
Abd al Muttalib
Abu Bekr 632
Abdalla
Abu Talib
Abbas
Zobier
Ayesha
MOHAMMED
Abdalla
Abdalla, Set up as Kalif at Mecca
Fatima
Ali, 656
Ali
Hasan, 661
Hosein the "Martyr"
Mohammed
THE KOREISHITES
(Traffickers, see Sura cvi.)
Abul Abbas, 750
Mansur, 754
Mehdi, 775
Hedi, 785
Ibrahim, 817
Harun al Rashid, 786
Amin, 809
Mamun, 813
Motasim, 834
Wathek, 842
Motamed
Motawakkel, 847
Mohammed
Motadi, 869
Montaser, 861
Motaz, 866
Motamed, 870
Mowafek
Mostain, 862
Motaded, 892
Moktader, 907
Moktafi, 902
Kaher, 932
Radi, 934-940

tionists, who acknowledge the first four kalifs to have been legitimate successors of Mohammed; and the Shias, or Followers (sometimes called Sectaries, who deem Ali the first rightful Imam, for they prefer this title (found in sura ii., verse 118) to that of kalif. The Shias count twelve Imams, the last of whom, Mohammed al Mehdi (A.D. 873), they suppose to be still living in retirement, ready to appear as the Mahdi prophesied to reunite Islam in the last days. In general terms, the Persians are Shias and the Turks Sonnites.

Othman differed in character from his predecessors; he was fond of wealth, though he had used his riches at a time of dearth in distributing provisions among the people, and had thereby won their affection; he was narrow and weak; he practised nepotism, though the kinsmen whom he advanced had been inveterate opponents of Islam; and he lacked the important faculty of conciliating his subjects and of encouraging unity among them. It was unfortunate for him that besides the jealousy, which was now intensified between the rival families, there was also a growing antagonism between the nation at large and the Koreishites. This spirit found a congenial soil at Bassora and Kufa, where the inhabitants were rapidly realizing that they had power and influence which they might use for their own purposes against the kalif even, if he should oppose himself to their desires. Omar had kept down dissensions at home by waging wars abroad, and Othman did the same.

One of the early mistakes of Othman lost Alex-

andria to the kalifate. He gave the prefecture of Egypt to a near relative, and the emperor of Constantinople sent a fleet against Alexandria, which wrested it from him (A.D. 646). Amr was reinstated in authority, and, after a long siege, he took the city by storm, gave it up to plunder, razed its walls, and deprived it of all its former importance. Fostat gained what Alexandria lost.

The Persians, who had been scattered by the armies of Omar, did not remain quiet, and risings and rebellions were frequent throughout Irak Ajemi, many expeditions being sent to quell them; and to these Kufa and Bassora contributed largely. These were not always successful, but they carried the fame and the name of the Saracens throughout the vast regions watered by the Indus and the Oxus, made them familiar in Korassan, Kabul, and Turkestan, and on the borders of the Caspian Sea. On the western shore of the Caspian there was trouble (653 A.D.) with the Turks, in which the Arabians were beaten, and Othman sent reinforcements from Syria to assist an army from Kufa, but the Syrians objected to serving under the Kufan captain, and the breach was begun which led to long-continued strife in the future.

Before this an army had been sent into Asia Minor which penetrated Armenia, ventured nearly to the Caspian from the southwest, and then marched as far north as the Black Sea. The Moslems were meantime confirming their position in Egypt, and pushing their conquests along the Mediterranean coast almost to Carthage. Though Omar had op-

posed operations at sea, Othman permitted them, and, in 649, a naval force made a successful attack upon Cyprus, which became tributary, and a large number of captives were carried from the island. Three years after this a fleet of several hundred Byzantine vessels defied the Arabs off Alexandria; the opposing ships grappled, but after a desperate hand-to-hand struggle the Romans sailed away to Syracuse, beaten by the Saracens, with great slaughter. It was "a splendid victory," but, either because it was not followed up, or for some other reason, it resulted in dissatisfaction with the kalif and in open threats against him.

Othman was unhappy in his choice of governors at Kufa and Bassora, among whom were some of his own relatives, and the disaffection towards him constantly increased; large numbers of the Koreishites emigrated thither also, and certain concessions made to them, added to their own pretentions, tended to increase the jealousy and unfriendliness. Othman was no less unfortunate in Arabia; he enlarged and beautified the grand square of Kaaba, but even in this pious work managed to give offence; he rebuked a growing fondness for gambling and other forbidden pastimes, and made still more enemies; he prescribed changes in the ceremonial connected with the pilgrimage and created scandal, for he thus overturned some of the precedents that had been established by the prophet. He had this faculty for making enemies, but not for winning friends; and to all his real and imagined offences he added one against the superstitious feelings of the people.

He was one day superintending the deepening of a well, distant some two miles from Medina, when he had occasion to point towards the workmen, and the ring of Mohammed, which, following the example of Abu Bekr and Omar, he wore, fell from his finger and disappeared. In vain were large sums offered for the recovery of the sacred relic; in vain was the water drawn out; in vain were the mud and sand searched; the ring was gone beyond recovery. The kalif was saddened, for he believed that the circumstance was portentous of evil, and probably he had reason.

Not only was Othman lacking in discernment in making choice of governors for the colonies on the Euphrates, but his representatives there seemed to share his faculty for unpopularity, or to have special fondness for stirring up ill feeling among the subjects. When factious spirit showed itself in actual rebellion, he failed to act with decision and force, and thus wounds were left that rankled long after they should have healed. Ali remonstrated with him for dealing softly with offenders because they were his kinsmen, and probably he was right; but the kalif appealed to the people, and in doing it only roused their ill feelings more.

The entire kalifate was soon undermined with secret conspiracy; and Othman, in his helplessness, sent men to Egypt, to Kufa, to Bassora, and to Damascus to find out and report to him the state of affairs. He learned nothing satisfactory from these, of course, and he then issued an edict to the provinces calling the governors together at the time of pilgrimage in

the year 655. These officials came to Medina, but they could give no information, for the plotters were everywhere working in the dark. Othman was more bewildered than before. There was treason in the air, and the hand of the law could not be placed upon it.

In the spring and summer of 656, the scheme of the conspirators was brought to a climax; they had determined to come in force from Egypt and Mesopotamia in the guise of pilgrims; to present long lists of grievances; to demand redress; and if the objectionable governors could not be removed, to call for the abdication of Othman himself, enforcing it if necessary at the point of the sword. When they reached Medina they were disconcerted to find that the citizens would not unite with them, and as the kalif consented to make some changes, they retired towards their homes, in pretended satisfaction, and peace settled down upon Medina.

Three days later, Othman was disturbed while leading prayers, by the startling news that the three factious bands were again at the gates. Ali went forth to ask the reason of their return, and they exhibited an order from the kalif, confirmed by his seal, directing that they should be punished with vigor. Othman disclaimed all knowledge of the document, and it is still disputed whether it was a forgery or not; but it gave the conspirators an opportunity to demand the kalif's abdication, and also enabled them to remain in the city. They insulted Othman in his pulpit; they drove the men of Medina from the mosque and kept them out; they shut the

kalif up in his palace, and caused him great distress; finally, fearing that he might obtain relief from the colonies, on the 17th of June they stormed the palace, seized him by his beard as he sat in the apartment of the women, with the Koran open on his knees, and smote him with their swords. Deeply wounded, he fell, pressing the leaves of the sacred book to his bosom and staining them with his ebbing life-blood. After a scene of frightful riot, the insurgents suddenly rushed from the palace, crying: "To the Treasury!" The palace gates were barred; the mutilated body of the kalif was buried at dusk; the rebels pelting the bier the while with stones; and anarchy reigned at Medina.

XXX.

THE MISFORTUNES OF ALI, FATHER OF HASAN.

THE outlook for the kalifate was now far from promising. We remember that at the death of the prophet there had been the anxious inquiry, on the part of many of the allied tribes, "Can the yoke be thrown off?" Abu Bekr had died in his bed, but Omar and Othman had lost their lives by the assassin's knife; and now no one was found willing to accept the once coveted office. The conspirators who had come from Egypt, from Kufa, and from Bassora, indicated the feeling of dissatisfaction in those distant portions of the kalifate, and each of them now brought forward a different candidate for the chief office.

The Egyptians favored Ali, who represented the direct line of descent, for his offspring were grandchildren of the prophet; Kufa presented the name of Zobeir, a convert of Abu Bekr in the day of small things, who had been of the Abyssinian emigrants, had fought under the prophet, had been one of the electoral commission appointed by Omar, and had married one of his widows; and Bassora nominated Talha, likewise a convert of Abu Bekr, who had been trusted by Mohammed, and appointed by Omar

(who was his brother-in-law) one of the electoral council.

Immediately upon the death of Othman, the Egyptians and the men of Medina offered to swear allegiance to Ali, but he was not willing to risk the anger of the partisans of the other candidates. He urged them to wait until there had been time for deliberation, and said that though he had once desired the office, he now thought that the most comfortable position in life was that farthest removed from power, and that he was ready to submit to whoever might be lawfully proclaimed. The same advances were made to both Zobeir and Talha, with similar results. The men of Medina urged Ali again and again, but to no purpose; the crowd called now upon one and now upon another; they bewailed the want of a chief; they prophesied civil war if the strangers then at Medina should return to their provinces and announce that no kalif had been proclaimed.

At last Ali was moved by the pathetic demands of the people and consented to go to the mosque and receive their allegiance. There Talha and Zobeir offered him their hands in token of approbation, and there the Companions of the prophet and the other chiefs did the same. This appearance of peace was deceptive; and it soon became evident that Ali was expected to reward with offices those who supported him, or else become the target for their vengeance. Some asked that the murderers of Othman should be punished, but Ali thought best to postpone such an attempt, inasmuch as considerable numbers would

be involved, and he did not feel strong enough to cope with such a party.

Among the claimants for office the loudest were Talha and Zobeir, who demanded to be made governors of Kufa and Bassora, respectively; but though Ali had resolved to remove all the governors appointed by his predecessor, he declined their demand saying that they were his wisest counsellors and he needed them near him at Medina. Ayesha, who was equally opposed to Ali and to Othman, united with Talha and Zobeir to breed dissatisfaction with all his acts, and each of the intriguing trio made use of the friends of the late kalif to stir up malice against his successor. The blood-stained garment of Othman was carried to Syria and there ostentatiously displayed by Moawia to create enmity against Ali, and clamorous cries were made for vengeance upon the murderers, all of which were hypocritically re-echoed by Ayesha, Talha, and Zobeir, the real instigators of his murder. The condition of affairs was indeed involved and desperate, and Ali was not the man for the moment.

Thus for a time Mecca became the centre of the intrigue. There Talha, Zobeir, and Ayesha formed a faction determined upon war, calling to it all malcontents, especially the members of the family of Omia, to which Othman had belonged. A proclamation was issued, declaring that the Mother of the Faithful was about to go to Bassora with Talha and Zobeir, and calling upon all who desired to strengthen Islam, were ready to fight, and wished to revenge the death of Othman, to join the standard

of revolt. Under the lead of Ayesha, a force of a thousand mounted on camels started out, and the number was soon swelled to three times that number.* When Bassora was reached the governor was called upon to surrender, and after but slight resistance he was overpowered, his beard and eyebrows were torn out by the roots, and he was dismissed.

The news of this reverse was carried to Medina, where Ali, entering the mosque with hearty thanks to Allah, announced that war was upon the nation and called for volunteers. The parties were pretty evenly balanced in the city, and there was no alacrity in coming forward to the help of the kalif, despite the fact that he was beloved and was believed to have been fairly elected, and though his eloquence was the greatest of all the sons of Arabia. The tide turned, however, and Ali unexpectedly found himself at the head of a thousand earnest men, who marched out of the city with hopes of overtaking Ayesha and her company. This was soon proved impossible, and a halt was made for consultation. It was decided to send an appeal to Kufa—not for aid in war, but for mediation between Ali and the separatists, for Ali was convinced by assurances that had been sent to

* Efforts were made to induce Omm Selma, another widow of the prophet, to join this revolt, but she would not, and endeavored to restrain the conspirators from precipitating civil war. Ayesha was troubled by superstitious qualms on the journey, but they were overcome by deceit, and the first falsehood recorded in the annals of Islam was invented to urge her forward to ruin. The women of Mecca accompanied Ayesha a short distance, and as they separated from her, wept over the fortunes of the faith. "The Day of Tears" is remarkable for weeping such as never had been known before nor has been since, according to the Moslem writers.

him that many of the citizens of Kufa were ready to take his part

Ali wrote letters also to Medina and received generous contributions of horses, arms, and necessaries of life. He sent likewise to Egypt and elsewhere for assistance. When his letter reached Kufa it did not meet the reception he hoped for; there was reluctance to take the part of the kalif against the rebels; but it was finally overcome by the skill of Hasan, his son, and at last a body of nine thousand men marched out to meet the kalif's approaching troops. When this accession was received, Ali felt comfortable, and advancing toward them, said, "O men of Kufa! may ye become the kibla of Islam and the centre of the true faith! From the times of Omar ye have fought manfully to carry the religion of the Moslem farther into the Orient; now I appeal to you for help against opposing brethren whom I wish to lead back to their allegiance. If they listen to me, I will receive them, and pardon the past; if they refuse, we shall wait; if they attack us, we shall pray Allah to deliver them into our hands. We seek peace by every means." Ali had before this assured the Kufans that he preferred them to all others and intended to make his home among them.

We now approach one more scene of carnage notable even among those that mark the track of Islam with a gory trail. The several combatants entered upon the struggle with quite different motives and feelings; Zobeir, having brought to his mind the early affection that he had enjoyed in the lifetime

of the prophet, wished to make peace; and Talha acknowledged the wrongfulness of their cause, but Ayesha, remembering how Ali had made reflections upon her at the time she was under suspicion by the prophet,—and the remembrance was at the bottom of all her enmity to him,—was determined not to allow moderation or patriotism to restrain in any degree her vindictive spirit. War there must be.

The armies lay opposite to each other at a place called Kariba, not far from Bassora, neither willing to join battle; Ali because he was ever averse to shedding Moslem blood, and the separatists because though their forces numbered more than those of the kalif, they were not inspired with the same impetuous enthusiasm nor controlled by the same military skill, and because, besides, there was division among the leaders.

When the sun rose on the winter morning (it was in November or December, 656,), the battle began, though no one knew exactly how; and Ayesha was seen going up and down the field on a camel protected by an iron cage, while the contest ever raged fiercest about her. Talha soon received his mortal wound, and died vainly endeavoring to undo his mistake by renewing allegiance to Ali; later, Zobeir was decapitated while in the act of enforced prayer; and the widow of the prophet found her litter stuck so full of arrows and javelins that it looked like a porcupine, and her camel itself was wounded so that it could no longer carry her. This was called the Day of the Camel.

Victory complete perched upon the kalif's ban-

ners, and his prestige and power were immensely increased. He treated Ayesha with courtesy, sending her under escort of a retinue of women to Medina, where she was forbidden to leave her house or to intermeddle more in the affairs of state. Leaving a governor at Bassora, Ali established the seat of his kalifate at Kufa, and governed Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Arabia, and Korassan,—all that rightfully belonged to his dominions except Syria, about which, however, he had but little solicitude when he contemplated his present success.

In his complacency Ali was fatally mistaken, for the governor of Syria was a man in the prime of active manhood, possessing, as some one has said, the courage, eloquence, and affability of Julius Cæsar, the ambition, facility, and tardy clemency of Augustus, and the policy, dissimulation, and cruelty of Tiberius. Descended from Omia, son of the archenemy of Mohammed, Abu Sofian; born the year that the prophet sought refuge in the Cave, Moawia, had long before become a convert to Islam, and had fought valiantly in its wars. In 651, he had been governor of Cyprus, which he had lost and regained; the same year he had taken Rhodes, destroying the celebrated Colossus, as doubtful tradition asserts, and selling its brass to a Jew; he had swept the eastern Mediterranean, overthrowing the navy of Rome and making the name of the Arabian feared everywhere on the sea. Appointed governor of Syria, by Omar, and continued in authority by Othman, he had laid the foundation for vast personal power throughout that region. To increase this he

had stirred up a terrible hate at the time of the murder of Othman, by setting up on the pulpit at Damascus as a standard the bloody garment of the murdered Commander of the Faithful, and calling upon his subjects to rally to extirpate all the men who had been engaged in the detestable deed. It was said that fifty thousand men * whose cheeks and beards were never dry from tears, and whose eyes had never ceased weeping blood, had drawn their swords with a solemn oath to give themselves no rest, and to bequeath their determination to their children's children, until the blood of the kalif should be avenged.

Such was the man and such were the soldiers that Ali was now destined to confront in desperate warfare; but, with all his advantages, Moawia was not willing to enter upon the struggle without the assistance which he hoped to obtain from that Amr who in the days of Omar had so valiantly fought in Egypt. It happened that this hero, who had been removed from office by Othman, was at the time living quietly in Palestine, and he now readily acknowledged Moawia to be the rightful kalif and agreed to take part with him, provided he might himself have the rule of Egypt again in case of their success. By such means, an army of some eighty thousand men was gathered to menace Ali, who, however, brought against it, from Kufa, ninety thousand, and marching toward the confines of Syria, came in sight of his opponents at a place called Siffin, on the Euphrates, north of Palmyra, not far from the northern limits of Mesopotamia.

* Tabari makes the number 30,000.—"Chronicles," pt. iv., ch. xcviii.

The two armies met in the summer of 657 A.D. A month was occupied in consequent efforts at conciliation, and then for three months and more there were equally indecisive skirmishes, in which thousands perished on both sides, each of the combatants professing a wish to avoid the shedding of Moslem blood. The deadly struggle was inevitable, how-

A YOUNG SYRIAN GIRL.

ever, and when the bravest of both armies were biting the dust, and heads of the warriors were rolling about the field like tennis balls, as the chronicles say, when streams of blood polluted the earth in every direction, and the Syrians were falling before their opponents, Amr sent for Moawia in great haste, and ordered him to cause his men to thrust the

Koran at their enemies on the points of their lances, crying: "This is the book of Allah; this it is that should decide differences between Moslems; if the inhabitants of Syria and Irak are exterminated, who then will profess Islam?" The ruse had the desired effect; the followers of Ali replied that they willingly acknowledged the Koran; and in spite of the efforts of the kalif to continue the struggle, which he saw was destined to end in his favor, the glorious victory was snatched from him, and it was agreed to submit the claims of the rivals to the arbitration of two chosen men. Moawia then retired to Damascus and the kalif to Kufa.

It happened that the representative of Ali in this arbitration was a well-meaning but simple-minded person, while that of Moawia was no less than the strong and ready Amr, everywhere acknowledged to be the most quickwitted man of the age. The two met at Kufa eight months later, and by another, but rather transparent ruse, Amr managed to throw the decision in favor of Moawia. The arbitration determined nothing, and the parties became more and more intense in their animosity, excommunicating each other with great freedom and constancy. Meantime, an insurrection was stirred up against Ali by certain Karejites,* who denounced him for submitting to the arbitration of men a matter which Allah only

* Karejite meant "one who goes forth," a radical reformer, a "come-outer," as Theodore Parker used that expressive word. The Karejites sought to establish a theocracy, and declared that a just and pious man, of whatever tribe or nation, might be called to the kalifate, though they did think a kalif at all essential to the state. They numbered twelve thousand at this time.

should have decided. The insurgents collected at a place called Nehrwan, not far from the site of the future city of Bagdad, east of the Tigris, and there Ali met and overcame them with an army that he had prepared to march against Moawia in Syria (A.D. 658). The victory won, Ali called upon his army to follow him to Syria, but they refused, and he was obliged to allow them to return to Kufa. The remnants of the Karejites were scattered throughout the Moslem world. They were called also Motazilites, * and as such still exist, a vigorous offshoot of the Shias. The germs of the sect are traced to the time of Mohammed, but the real founder was Wasil ben Ata, who, in the reign of Hashim, protested against the current teachings on the subject of free-will and predestination. He urged his views impulsively and with success upon the advanced thinkers of Bassora, whence they were carried in time to all parts of the Moslem world.

Syria was still the only region not under the sway of Ali, though trouble was rising in Egypt, for Moawia managed to compromise Ali's governor there and he was recalled, Mohammed, son of Abu Bekr, being placed in his stead. Moawia stirred up further dissensions; made use of that characteristic Eastern weapon, poison; broke up Ali's plans generally, and made the way clear for Amr to take possession of the government, which he did with all speed. He captured Mohammed, son of Abu Bekr, and burned him alive in the skin of an ass; an act

* See "The Personal Law of the Mohammedans," by Seyed Ameer Ali (a Motazilite himself). Introduction, pp. 6, 9, 10, 11, etc.

which aroused the wrath of his sister Ayesha, who impotently invoked upon both Amr and Moawia the direst curses of Allah. Moawia meantime, ceased not to make incursions into the domains of the kalif, though a growing opposition to continuing the struggle was making itself felt both at Damascus and at Kufa. In 659, Moawia captured Bassora, which had been temporarily left with a weak garrison, but Ali overcame his forces in turn, and the city resumed its allegiance to him.

The misfortunes of Ali were increasing constantly. The year after the capture of Bassora was fatal for him. He became despondent as he contemplated the distracted state of his dominions, and still more so when in the year 660, Moawia, who had been secretly corresponding with partisans in Mecca and Medina, sent forces against those cities, which after shedding some Moslem blood, forced them to surrender and swear allegiance to him. Ali at Kufa, and Moawia at Damascus, were now both striving for the mastery of Yemen. Moawia was successful, and several thousands of the citizens of that "happy" region were put to the sword. Ali in desperation decided upon one more effort against his powerful antagonist, the enemy of the true faith, as he thought him. All the time the kalif at Kufa was daily offering prayers in the mosque for Moawia, and Moawia, at Damascus, was careful never to omit the names of Ali and his sons, Hasan and Hosein, when he led the devotions of the faithful in the mosque in distant Damascus.

In the year 660, forty years after the emigration

of the prophet from Mecca, three desperate zealots from among the Karejites met to discuss the distracted condition of Islam. They looked to Egypt, and there was Amr, ambitious and determined; they turned their eyes to Damascus, and behold the son of Abu Sofian, burning with ambition and panting for vengeance upon the kalif whom they themselves, as they smarted under their defeat at Nehrwan, looked upon as ambitious and dangerous. They were three narrow-minded and impracticable zealots; they did not have the power of building up, but only of breaking down, and though they knew not what plan to lay out for the future, and, perhaps, cared not for any, felt sure that for the moment it was desirable that three such factors in the public distraction should be out of the way. Assassination was their only resort; they knew no legal method of gaining relief (probably there was none); and upon assassination they cheerfully decided. One agreed to rid the state of Ali; a second eagerly offered to be responsible for Moawia's death; and the third offered to journey to Egypt to make way with Amr. The seventeenth of the holy month Ramadan was chosen for the work, and it happened to fall on Friday, the day for sacred meeting in the mosques.

When the day and the moment arrived, not one, but three poisoned daggers cut their way to Ali's heart; another inflicted a severe though not a mortal wound upon Moawia; but the one intended for Amr missed him, because his place in the mosque was that day taken by another. Amr ordered his

would-be murderer to immediate death; Moawia's assailant was condemned to such mutilation that he did not survive; Ali the compassionate, ordered that his assassin should not be tortured, but kept with care until the result of his wound was known. Accounts vary in regard to his ultimate punishment, but he was probably executed, for in three days Ali died.

As we are brought to the sad end of the husband of Fatima, we cannot resist the impulse to stop a moment to look back upon his career, since that day, long before, when, in the exuberance of youth, he eagerly asserted his wish to be a follower of Mohammed; and to reflect upon the pertinacity with which he held to the purpose that seemed at the time but the inspiration of the moment. We remember the assistance he rendered Mohammed at the time of the Hejra; his valiant deeds in the battles that followed; his allegiance to Abu Bekr; his reluctance to assume the kalifate himself, though well knowing that the honor of the position was his by right, as the person indicated by Mohammed; and we feel that his life was one of sadness and discomfiture. He was a man of mild and forbearing character, cultivating luxury and pleasure, and preferring compromise and procrastination to energy and promptness. His wisdom in counsel, and his reputed sagacity in framing sententious proverbs, were great, though he was not wise enough to escape the doom that was the certain result of a policy so little characterized by strength as was that which he followed.

Ali never bound the faithful to him, and though

at a later period he was glorified with almost divine honors, and a magnificent tomb was erected for his remains, his grave was at first neglected, and the indifference in which he was held during life followed him long after death. He is to be honored as the first kalif who cultivated letters, and a body of wise sentences bears his name, which had they really emanated from him, would have been truly creditable to his mind and his heart. Many ingenious and entertaining anecdotes are on record regarding him, in which he is made to appear in a most favorable light; but in spite of all, he must remain for us an unfortunate and uncommendable man.

Ali refused to name his successor; but the choice of his followers fell naturally upon his son Hasan, and he immediately took up the duties of the office. Even less inclined to a military career than his father had been, he entered upon the still impending conflict with Moawia with an irresolution and lack of ability that made him an easy victim of his opponent's superior shrewdness. In less than half a year he had resigned all claim upon the kalifate, and Moawia became Commander of all the Faithful. Eight years later, Hasan died of poison, in the year 669, and the line of "orthodox, or "rightly-directed" kalifs, elected by the suffrages of the Moslems, ended.

XXXI.

THE TRAGEDY OF MOHARREM.

MOHAMMED had moved from the Holy City to Medina; Ali had taken the head-quarters of the kalifate from Medina to Kufa; and now a third removal was about to be made. When Moawia had established himself upon the throne he chose Damascus as his capital, and founded there the kalifate of the Omiades, a dynasty that was to continue in power for almost a century. Another important change was made at the same time; the kalif himself was no longer the choice of the body of the Faithful, but the sceptre was to be transmitted in an hereditary line.

Thus, during this dynasty, the relative importance of Arabia, and especially of the two capitals of Hejaz, which, up to the time of Ali, had been chief among cities, rapidly declined, owing both to the increase of the empire of the Saracens and to the removal of the capital beyond its limits. The duty of pilgrimage was indeed observed, and is still observed in our own day; but even in the performance of those sacred rites the rulers visited the land of the desert at rare intervals only. The empire of the kalifs was destined to increase still more; but its

different parts were to have less and less a united history, and finally the interest that attaches to them was to become wellnigh distinct from that with which we look upon the cradle of the great social and religious revolution from which it derived all its life and consequence.

Though Moawia had overcome most of his opponents, there still remained one of the most powerful of them, an illegitimate son of the famous Abu Sofian, and consequently the kalif's own half-brother, a warrior named Ziyad, a man of reputation, of resources, and of some following. He was at this time fortified in a stronghold, and Moawia knew that it was his desire to see a member of the prophet's family placed upon his throne. Since the Karejites were opposed to him, it was of the utmost moment that Ziyad should be brought to his support, and accordingly, he resorted to the remarkable expedient of owning him as brother, in order to ensure his allegiance. This plan was successful; Ziyad was secured as an ally; by his assistance the Karejites were put down; and Ziyad was in turn raised high in the kalif's esteem. He was made successively governor of Bassora, Kufa, Korassan, India, and other parts: all of which he ruled with such force and equity that good order was established; and then, in his restlessness, he longed for other arenas in which to display his ability. Moawia, ever happy to favor his supporter, gladly offered him the governorship of Arabia Petræa; but as Ziyad was about to set out for that region he was attacked by gangrene in the hand, and the imperfect medical

skill of the age was unable to afford him relief. He died at the age of fifty-four, in the year 674 A.D.

Moawia hastened to show his appreciation of Ziyad by appointing his son, Obeidalla, then twenty-five years of age, governor of Kufa, Bassora, and Korassan, and the young man soon proved that he had inherited the spirit and some of the ability of his father. He invaded Bokhara and conquered it, bringing to Bassora many prisoners and much booty; he pushed the Turks out of Korassan, forcing them to flee to Samarkand, that venerable centre of Asiatic commerce and learning, famous now for the tomb of the great Tamerlane, conqueror of Persia, and Korassan, of Delhi, Damascus, and Bagdad.

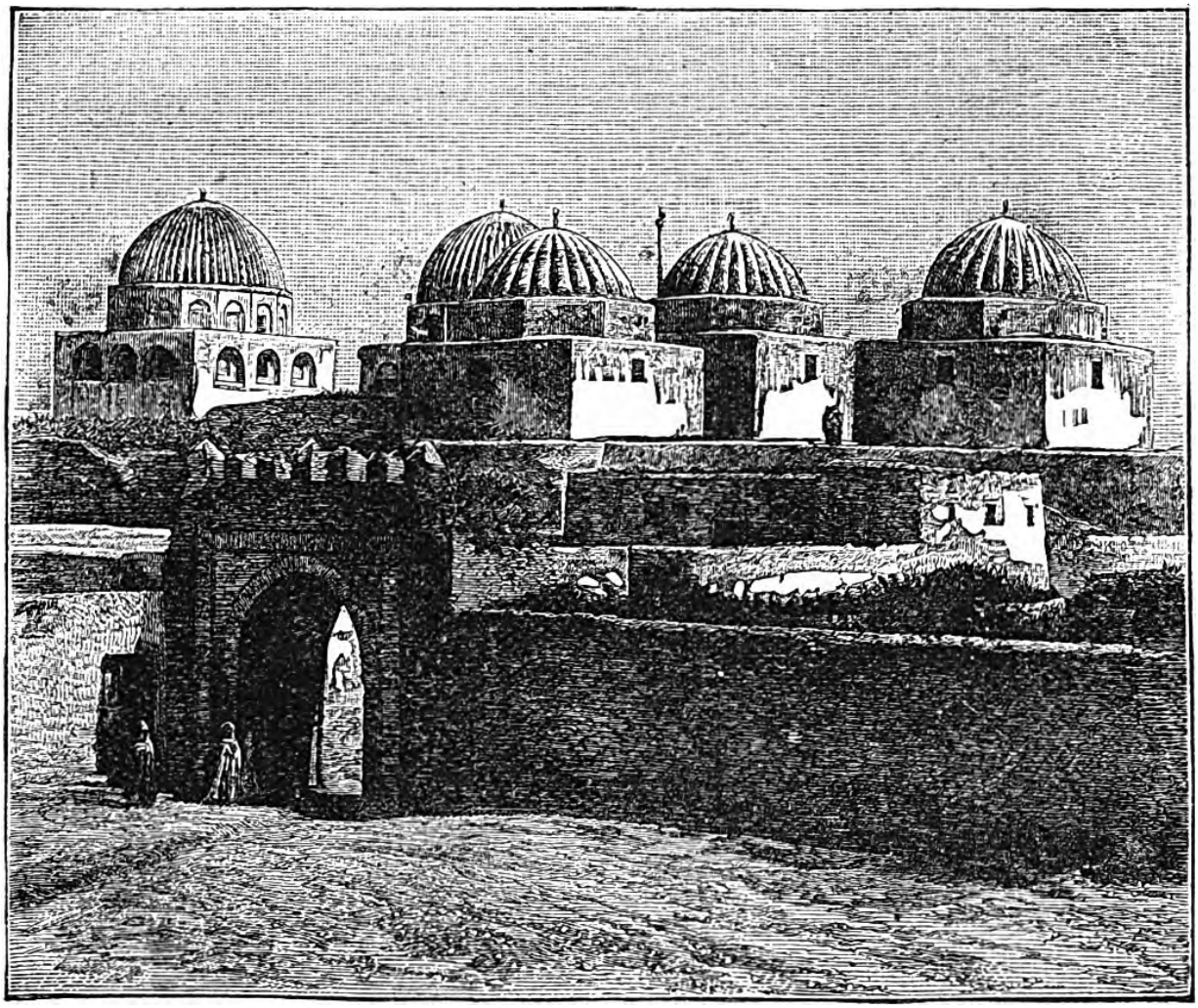
The reign of Moawia was remarkable for two great enterprises: the first attempt of the Saracens to capture Constantinople, and the extension of the dominion of the kalif in Northern Africa. His desire to found an hereditary monarchy led to the former expedition, for he wished to bring his son Yezid forward as a leader among men, a character that the youth's love of luxury and pleasure entirely unfitted him to sustain. The design of Moawia thus to make Yezid his successor was in contravention of an arrangement made when he became kalif, to the effect that upon his own death the office should return to Hasan. The partiality of the father did not permit him to gauge correctly the weakness of the son, and accordingly a vast army was collected and sent towards the Byzantine capital. Like the Crusades, destined in a future age to be waged against the Moslems themselves, this was considered a "holy"

war, and it had the prestige of being a fulfilment of the desire of the prophet himself, who had hoped that at some day the banner of Islam would wave over the capital of the Cæsars. It was at about the year 670 or 672 that the expedition started for its distant destination: battered soldiers of the prophet's wars; the flower of Moslem chivalry; the young Hosein, son of Ali; and the aged Sofian; Abu Ayub, who had been at Bedr and at Ohud;—all rekindled the fires of martial enthusiasm and girded on the sword to win victory over the infidel, or paradise, the certain reward of death in such an effort.

It is to be regretted that no details of this great effort have been preserved; the historian Tabari passes over it without mention; and we only know that the siege was long and the bloodshedding frightful. Tradition asserted that Mohammed had promised plenary indulgence to all who should be counted in the first army to take the capital of the Eastern Empire, and under such an incentive every Moslem dared to do his utmost. The fleet reached a point seven miles distant from Constantinople without difficulty, but so great had been the preparations to resist the invaders, that all their efforts against it were vain and their only satisfaction was found in ravaging the neighboring coasts. Greek fire, a buring composition discharged from tubes in some manner not now understood, was at this time used with success against the Moslem fleet.

The ineffectual contest continued year after year, the attacking forces slowly melting away the meantime, and when six or seven years had been thus

wasted, it was decided to retreat, one portion of the forces being sent by sea and the other by land. Each was alike unfortunate; wind and waves dispersed and broke to pieces the fleet, and the generals of the emperor pursued and cut up the demoralized land army. Wearied and feeling the approach



ANCIENT MOSQUE OF KAIRWAN.

of age, Moawia concluded a treaty in 678, by which peace was assured for a generation by the annual payment of a large sum of gold and many slaves, besides fifty horses of the purest Arabian blood.

Against this ill success, we may offset the extension of Moslem power in Africa, the result of an expedition undertaken, as some assert, at the request

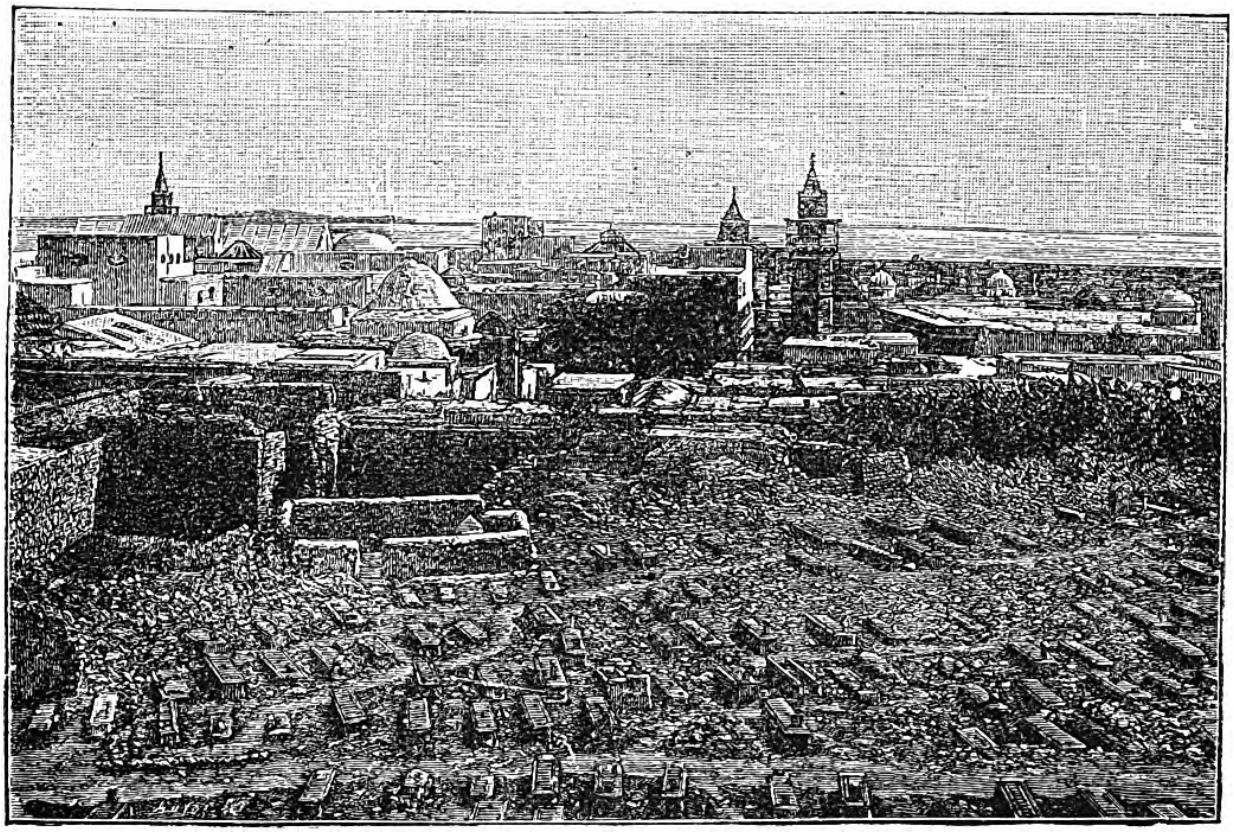
of Roman inhabitants of that region. The army of the kalif, commanded by his bravest warriors, made its way with all celerity from Syria to Alexandria, increasing in numbers as it advanced, and thence it progressed into the deserts to the west of Egypt. This extensive region was at the time in a condition of anarchy. Its conquest was committed to Okba, a general of daring bravery, who advanced towards the present limits of Tunis. At a spot some one hundred miles south of ancient Carthage, this conquerer cleared away the woods and founded a city often referred to in the history of the times, known as Kairwan, intended as a place of refuge. The date at which this city was begun is variously given, and it may be set down as about 677 A.D. From Kairwan the victorious Okba marched as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, beyond Ceuta and Tangier (passing through the regions now known as Algiers and Morocco), and when he reached that then impassable barrier to his progress, he plunged his steed into its waters, and raising his glittering scimetar aloft, cried out in the name of Allah, that if the deep waters had not hindered him, he should have carried the knowledge of the law and a reverence for the true faith to still more distant realms, slaying all who bowed to other gods, after the fashion of Julkarnein.* While he was uttering these proud words, the conquered peoples, Berbers † and

* The reference is to an obscure passage in sura xviii. Julkarnein, the "two-horned," is interpreted to mean Alexander the Great, king of the East and the West, or some other powerful conqueror. See Price's "History of Arabia," chapter two.

† The Berbers were an African people of unknown antiquity, who appear in history as Libyans, Numidians, and Moors.

others, were rising in the rear of the conqueror, and he found it necessary to hasten towards his Eastern home; but it was too late; the enemy surrounded his army in a pass called Tehuda, and after a terrible struggle the Saracens were defeated, and almost annihilated.

The increasing infirmities of Moawia caused him



VIEW OF TUNIS.

to be more and more desirous that Yezid might be assured of the succession during his lifetime, and in the year 678 he called the inhabitants of Damascus together to take the oath of allegiance to his son. He had asked Ziyad some years before to give him advice on the subject, and he had said that a young man so completely given over to pleasures was not fit to be Commander of the Faithful. In consequence of this advice, the father had waited until

three years after the death of Ziyad before taking the step he desired, and in the meantime Yezid had, to some extent, reformed his habits. At least four persons refused to take the oath of allegiance to the young prince: Hosein, son of Ali; sons of Abbas, of Omar and of Zobeir. To these a son of Abu Bekr ought perhaps to be added. So important were these men that Moawia determined to make a personal effort to induce them to change their determination. They all lived at Medina, excepting the son of Abu Bekr, a blind man who lived at Mecca. To Medina accordingly Moawia took his journey, under pretence of visiting the holy places. Arrived at his destination, he called upon Hosein to take the oath, and he declined unless the others would do the same. Moawia then summoned the others to him separately, and each made the same reply, for not one was ready to take the lead. Disappointed in his mission, Moawia proceeded to perform the pilgrimage, and then returned to his capital. He scandalized the faithful by making an effort to remove the prophet's walking-stick and pulpit to Damascus, but was obliged to give up that plan also, for the citizens opposed it, and an eclipse of the sun which occurred at the time was taken as an indication of Allah's displeasure.

The end of the kalif was now rapidly approaching, and he called his son to him to give him last counsels regarding the conduct of government. He told him to trust the Arabs as the foundation of his power, to prize the Syrians, and to endeavor to keep the turbulent people of Irak quiet by gratifying their

demands; and he solemnly warned him to beware of those men at Medina who had refused to swear allegiance to him. Moawia died in the spring of 680, and was buried in the capital, which he had made a place of great luxury. Under him the kalifate had entirely lost the simplicity of the early days, and the change of scene from Mecca and Medina to the wealthy city of the north was followed by a complete alteration in the character of the kalifs themselves.

The greatness of Moawia had been established before he became kalif, and nothing that he accomplished after his accession would have been sufficient to give him the reputation that the chroniclers award him. The fundamental change in the kalifate that he effected, was not for good; he added to the extent of the kingdom, but the increase was not greatly to its advantage; he left it under tribute to the Byzantine empire, which must have been intensely offensive to every member of the proud tribe of Koreish to which he belonged.

Moawia was the first kalif who sat when he spoke to the people in the mosque; he was munificent in his presents to his favorites, and made large gifts to Ayesha and Hasan; he encouraged letters and put post-horses upon some roads.

The change in affairs is still more emphasized in the reign of Yezid than it had been in that of his father. He was not present when Moawia died, but messengers were sent to recall him from a small town in the territory of Homs or Emesa, whither he had gone. A follower of the kalif ascended the

pulpit in the mosque, bearing Moawia's winding-sheet in his hand, pronounced an eulogium upon him, and said the burial prayers over the body before it was committed to the tomb. Yezid entered upon office quietly and without the formality of an election, but he did not enjoy the throne in peace. Hosein, son of Ali, was living, though Hasan was dead, and he laid claim to the office of kalif with some right; Abdalla, son of Zobeir, who had retired to Medina after the battle of the Camel, also raised the standard of revolt, and thus the scene of action during the brief reign of Yezid was for a portion of the time transferred again to Medina and Mecca.

Upon the change of sovereigns, the people of Kufa turned their eyes to Hosein, then living at Mecca, and sent a secret messenger to him to say: "We are thy followers, as we were thy father's; we are enemies of all the Omiades, and as we fought for thy father against Talha and Zobeir, and against the Syrians at Siffin, so now we are ready to take up arms for thee. Come to us at once; we will put the governor out of the way; we will deliver the city to thy hands, and we will swear allegiance to thee. There are more than a hundred thousand men who are ready to give up their lives in thy cause, and to fight against Yezid as they have fought against Moawia." One messenger did not lead Hosein to move; he suspected the Kufans, whose fickleness was proverbial; but another and another came to him, and at last a poll of a hundred and forty thousand names was sent across the desert. Then he determined to go. More than one hundred and fifty letters also are

said to have been sent over the desert to Hosein before he yielded.* In one of these, recited in the annual celebration of the event, the invitation is couched in the following glowing Oriental phrases:

O solar orb of the sphere of faith, although the country of Kufa is a tulip-field, yet without the rose of thy face all are but thorns in my eyes. The blow of thy separation has rendered me disabled, and the fire of thine absence has set my weary soul in flames. Come quickly to Kufa, for all the people of the country earnestly desire to see thee, O most excellent Imam! Have the condescension, O Sphere of Generosity! to move hitherward as soon as possible, that thou mayest afford direction in the paths of virtue to a people who are cheerfully expecting thy arrival!

The extravagant partisans represented that the land of Kerbala, from end to end a beautiful rose-garden carpeted with tulips and lilies, was anxious for his coming; that the very Euphrates, restless as quicksilver, was longing for him, and that the entire region had worn out its eyes looking for him.† It looked like rashness to his friends at Mecca, but he listened not to their counsel; he bundled up his letters and the list of his supposed supporters, and set out accompanied by his wives, his brothers, and his children, besides forty horsemen and a hundred foot-soldiers.

Meantime Noman, governor of Kufa, was not ignorant that a movement was on foot in favor of the son of Ali. He called the people together and exhorted them to hold to their allegiance, assuring them that if they supported Hosein, he would surely fight against them to the last. The news was car-

* See Muir's "Early Caliphate," p. 435.

† See Pelly's "Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain," vol. i., p. 216.

ried to Yezid, of course, and he took means to prepare for the coming of the new claimant. He sent messages to him, warning him not to approach Kufa. One met him near the site of the battle of Kadesia, but it did not cause him to stop, though he was told plainly by friends that, even if the hearts of Kufa were with him, their swords were against him.

It was the beginning of the month Moharrem, when Hosein arrived at Kerbala, some twenty-five miles north of Kufa on the west branch of the Euphrates, where his little band was confronted by an army of four thousand men. Retreat was impossible, and there was no alternative but death in battle. He had already fortified himself by the Moslem fatalism, and had said, when he left Mecca, in response to the entreaties of his friends, "It must be as Allah wills!"

A friend urgently begged permission to lead him to a place of safety, but he refused the offer; and when desired to accept an escort to Kufa that had been sent by order of Yezid, he also declined that; neither would he agree to acknowledge Yezid as kalif. He offered to return to Arabia; to go to Damascus and negotiate directly with Yezid, or even to go to the frontiers of Korassan and there fight for the nation. Neither of these alternatives were granted, and at last, as delay followed delay, Yezid became impatient, and wrote to his governor: "If Hosein and his followers submit, and take the oath of allegiance, treat them kindly; if they refuse, slay them, ride over them, trample them under the feet of thy horses!" The messenger who bore the let-

ter was ordered to strike off the governor's head if he should neglect to carry out its instructions with promptness.

Before this Hosein had been troubled by presentiments and now heavy fancies again overcame him; but still his solicitude was rather for his companions than for himself, and he said to them: "These troops seek no life but mine; hasten ye to a place of safety and leave me to my fate!" Not one would stir from his side. Taking a camel, he rode before the reluctant soldiers of Kufa, reminding them, as a body and individually, of the invitations that had been sent him, and of the promises that they had made; but it was to no purpose; hope vanished. Then, with tears streaming from his eyes, he embraced each member of the "Family of the Tent," as his devoted followers have been called, saying: "May Allah recompense you!" They responded: "May peace rest upon thee, thou son of the apostle of Allah!"

The morning of the tenth of Moharrem dawned; it was the day upon which it was supposed that Allah created Adam and Eve; the battle was joined, but it was a slaughter rather. Thirty of the troops of Yezid could not resist the appeal of Hosein, and deserted to his forlorn hope; but nevertheless the devoted band fell, one by one, before the heartless host that remained. The night before, Hosein had formed a frail rampart around his little group by throwing together all the tents, and he had caused a ditch to be dug, which was filled with logs and brushwood, but it did not resist the onslaught of the

enemy. At last but five remained besides Hosein, and they were tormented by thirst and overpowered by the heat; all at once these threw themselves upon the assailants and were cut down. Still the kalif's host seemed restrained from striking the son of Ali. On the march from Mecca a child of but a single year had been of the party; and now its cries of distress at the hour of prayer attracted Hosein; he caught it to his arms, and at the moment its ear was pierced by an arrow; it fell lifeless to the ground. Hosein laid it down with a pious ejaculation and started to the water to drink, when he was himself struck upon the lips by a random shot; his enemies surrounded him; a lance was thrust through his back and he fell over, a corpse. The spot has been marked by tradition, and a sepulchre, called Meshed Hosein (the Sepulchre of Hosein), was in after times erected there.

The ages that have passed since that Moharrem day have magnified every incident of the struggle, and Hosein is looked upon as a martyr, sacrificed to the hate of the Omiades,—as one who gave himself for his people. The Persian loves to think that his dying in this way had been prophesied by Mohammed; Hosein is even represented as standing at the grave of the prophet before starting for Irak, and there saying: "How can I forget my people, since I am about to offer myself for their sake?"

The whole story of the "Family of the Tent" has been idealized and dramatized; regularly, as the first month comes around, Persia gives itself up for ten days to a grand festival of mourning, in which the

entire story is re-enacted with a realism so terrible that on some occasions the actors are really sacrificed, as their prototypes are represented to have been.

Nowhere else on earth can we see "such passion of grief, such grandeur of selfless sympathy as here, where the people forget the passing of time and the changing of place, and taking the rude platform for the real scene of the martyrdom, and the actors for those they represent, furiously stone the soldiers of Yezid and drive them from the stage; and the murderer-actor so loses himself in his part that he thinks he sees the real Hosein in the man before him, and actually beheads him before all eyes!" * "It is a long way from Kerbala to Calvary," says Matthew Arnold, "but the sufferers of Kerbala hold aloft to the eyes of millions of our race the lesson so loved by the Sufferer of Calvary, for he said: 'Learn of me, for I am mild and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.'" †

During the opening days of the month Moharrem the entire populace of Mohammedan India is wrought up to this intense excitement, especially on the tenth day, which is honored by the Sonnis as well as by the Shias, and it is not strange that the period is considered critical by the government.

The slaughter of Hosein and his followers did not

* "Studies in a Mosque," by Stanley Lane-Poole, chapter vii., "The Persian Miracle Play," page 211.

† "Essays in Criticism," "A Persian Passion Play," page 264. The whole essay is worthy of reading in this connection, though, perhaps, the character of Hosein has been too much idealized and purified by the poet-essayist.

give Yezid peace, for among the other pretenders to the throne, Abdalla, that son of Zobeir, still remained at Medina; and though he had been an aspirant to the same power that Hosein had grasped at, and was therefore during his lifetime one of his rivals, he now dared to call loudly upon the faithful to revenge his death! He depicted in glowing words the marvellous character of the son of Ali, set him up as a martyr, called to mind his particular virtues, his watchings, his prayers, his fastings, his lofty heroism, all the frightful circumstances of his taking off; and denounced in unmeasured terms the perfidy of

COIN OF THE OMIADES. (ABOUT 725 A.D.)

the people of Irak, especially of the Kufans, the blackest villains, as he assumed to think them, on the face of the earth. "Never," he exclaimed, "did this holy martyr prefer the sound of music to the reading of the Koran; effeminate songs to the compunctions produced by the fear of Allah; bacchanalian orgies to abstemiousness; the pleasures of the chase to pious conversation"; and as he uttered the words doubtless his hearers made mental comparisons quite to the disadvantage of Yezid.*

* See "Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne," par R. P. A. Dozy, tom. i., p. 80.

Abdalla entered into this labor with all the spirit of one relieved of a rival, of one who had sought an opportunity to excite popular feeling against a ruler who had abandoned the sacred cities of olden time to make a luxurious capital at distant Damascus. Abdalla was of attractive manners and adroit policy, a sort of Marc Antony among the Arabians, and he so skilfully worked upon the feelings of the Hashimites that they incontinently proclaimed him kalif and gave him their willing allegiance.

Vain were the efforts of Yezid to put down the rebellion; Abdalla met his orders with insult, and the people cast off their allegiance boldly with suggestive gestures, throwing in piles their shoes and their turbans and crying: "I cast off Yezid as I cast away this shoe!" "I cast off Yezid as I cast off this turban!" the growing heaps showing the unanimity of their feelings.

The Omiades were chased from the city, and closely besieged; but they managed to convey to the kalif a petition for help, and he sent twelve thousand cavalry and five thousand foot-soldiers to them, under command of Meslim, son of that Akba who had founded Kairwan. These troops found Medina protected by a deep ditch; but after four days they successfully stormed the city, and a scene of slaughter and rapine ensued which was too dreadful for description (A.D. 683). The army marched on to Mecca, where Abdalla was himself besieged for three-score days, though Meslim died before he reached the holy city. Showers of stones, darts, and burning naphtha were the meantime

poured down upon it, and upon the scarred Kaaba, by order of the Hasan, the new commander. Still the town held bravely out; the holy house was burned and became a heap of ruins, but even that disaster did not bring the sturdy Meccans to terms.

In the midst of the city's great distress a swift Arab of the desert brought to Abdalla the welcome intelligence that Yezid was no more. He had breathed his last at Hawarin, in Syria, at the early age of thirty-nine, after a reign of less than four years (A.D. 683). This event was, as usual, a signal for new commotions. The critical moment for Abdalla had arrived, and he knew it not. Hasan raised the siege immediately, and offered to support the claims of Abdalla, provided he would go with him to Damascus, for he said that Moawia, who he heard had been proclaimed kalif there, was entirely unworthy of the office. Abdalla feared to trust him, and the opportunity passed away.

XXXII.

THE VICTORIES OF ABD EL MELIK.

THE death of Hosein proved to be the most important event in the history of the Saracens, excepting the mission of the prophet. It marks an outbreak of the long-threatened schism in Islam which continues to divide it to this day: the Persians whose watchword is "the murdered Hosein," being Shias (Sectaries), and the Turks, who hold to the rightfulness of the kalifs before Ali, being known as Sonnites (Traditionists)

The time had indeed changed since the days when the prophet lived with his faithful Kadija upon dates and water; since Omar satisfied himself with the same simple diet; since the times of simplicity when the humble and strong kalifs were patterns of abstemiousness and frugality in diet and dress. Moawia had lived in pomp at Damascus, and Yezid dressed in silks, surrounded himself with dogs and dancing women, neglected the sacred hours of worship, drank the forbidden wines, and emulated all the vices and the display of the other sovereigns whom he had seen or heard of. He was not the man to build up a religion or a kingdom, nor was his feeble and incompetent son better adapted to these ends. He ascended the throne as Moawia II., upon

his father's death, but at the end of six months renounced the power which he honestly but weakly confessed that his grandfather had wrested from a better man; which his father had not merited nor used as a great trust for the good of the people; and of which he was himself equally unworthy. He called to him the chief men of his court and said, with a singular plainness of speech: "I have decided to abdicate the throne, but less happy than Abu Bekr, I find no Omar whom I can name as my successor; less fortunate than Omar, even, I find about me no body of men upon whom I dare impose the task of choosing a ruler for the empire; I therefore call upon you to seek the proper person, and give him the crown!" Upon this Moawia II. returned to his palace and remained in his chamber until death took him from the gloomy existence (A.D. 684).

Now Abdalla, son of Zobeir, at Mecca, was the only kalif, but the men of Damascus had not acknowledged him, and they determined to remain true to the family of Abu Sofian, the family of the Omiades. Looking for a candidate, they found none so promising as Merwan, son of Hakim, then at Medina, who though past the vigor of manhood was still strong and able. He had made his mark as secretary of Othman, and was well versed in the duties and traditions of the office, to which, indeed, he eagerly aspired. Meantime the governor of Bassora, he who had caused the massacre of Hosein, managed to have himself declared kalif for the interim; but his authority was not destined to endure. The Kufans opposed him and excited the people of

Bassora to rise against him. He fled in disgrace dressed in the clothes of a woman, and for a while Bassora united with all Arabia, with Korassan, Irak, and Egypt in supporting Abdalla. Merwan did not live a year, and in that brief time was not permitted to enjoy the dignity of his office in peace. He died in the month Ramadan, 684.

The same Puritans, known as Karejites, who had, on the field of Siffin, demanded the establishment of a theocracy, now burst from the fastnesses in which they had hidden themselves, and rushed through Irak carrying devastation and slaughter everywhere. At the same time there arose on the part of certain persons at Kufa who repented of their actions at the battle of Kerbala, a violent desire to revenge the slaughter of Hosein, and placing at their head one Soliman, they assembled outside the walls and sent men through the streets crying: "Vengeance for Hosein! Vengeance for Hosein!" They visited the scene of the carnage at Kerbala, and there at the tomb of the martyr, prayed for forgiveness; then thousands of them plunged into the rugged ravine that lay towards Damascus. They hastened forwards, only to meet a large army which the kalif had sent against them, and to be cut to pieces by the overpowering numbers, despite the prodigies of valor that they wrought in their desperation. Vengeance for Hosein was as far away as ever; but another champion came immediately to the front, called by that feeling inherent in humanity which often urges men to undertake projects in which there is neither prospect of success nor of reward.

When Moawia II. died, his son, Abd el Melik, then not quite forty years of age, was inaugurated kalif, notwithstanding the fact that his father had agreed that a son of Yezid should then enjoy the throne. Abd el Melik found himself involved in war with the followers of Soliman, then directed by a daring leader named Moktar, who claimed to be lieutenant of the Mahdi promised by the prophet, and supported the claims of a Mohammed, then living in retirement at Mecca, a son of Ali by another wife than Fatima. Moktar was accustomed to harangue the soldiers in verse. He claimed that the Angel Gabriel appeared to him in the form of a dove. He had fought Hosein on the plain of Kerbala.

This bloody general is said to have executed fifty thousand men besides those he had killed in battle. In the struggle which ensued, quarter was neither given nor expected, and warriors who were themselves on the point of death, jauntily ordered their enemies cut down by the hundred. Moktar made himself master of Kufa, and ruled it with an iron hand, persecuting all who did not do honor to the memory of Hosein. Abdalla sent his brother Musab to govern Bassora, and Moktar advanced against him with an army of twenty thousand men. A battle was fought not far from Kufa, and Moktar was obliged to retreat within the walls. With six thousand men he shut himself up in his palace, but was closely besieged, and at last, having no provisions, he proposed to sally out to cut the way through the enemy. Only nineteen men consented to take part in the forlorn hope, and they, wrapping winding-

sheets about them, rushed forth and met instant death.* Musab entered, and binding the hands of the remainder of the garrison behind them, led them out to the market-place and butchered them every one (A.D. 687).

This pious man (after the Moslem style of piety), now that the enemy was overcome, turned his thoughts towards religion, and crossed the desert to Mecca as pilgrim. As recompense for his success, Abdalla gave him the government of Irak, and he established his capital at Bassora. Abd el Melik, all the time irritated at the division of the kalifate, was planning how he might circumvent Abdalla and Musab, who not only possessed Mecca, but also that rich country watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, which he felt was rightfully his, as it was, if he was rightfully kalif. His Syrian subjects could not perform the pilgrimage to the Kaaba without hearing imprecations pronounced by those whom they would naturally respect, upon the ruler to whom they had given their allegiance, and their loyalty was consequently endangered. For these reasons, Abd el Melik bethought himself of a radical move; he established at Jerusalem altars to which the faithful at Damascus might resort as pilgrims; but none the less did he feel the necessity of pushing both Abdalla and Musab from their positions.

* We shall see (in chap. xxxv.) how the expectation of a coming Mahdi continued to be encouraged among the Alyites, until it resulted in the establishment of a dynasty of Fatimites in Egypt, which wrenched from the kalif that extensive province, and kept it for nearly three centuries.

In the year 690 he set out for Irak, leaving the government of the capital in the hands of a cousin named Amr. This man had, it seems, long cherished ill feelings against Abd el Melik, and took the opportunity to arrogate the supreme authority, which he thought he had some right to enjoy, as he was the head of the family of the Omiades. Information of this was promptly sent to Abd el Melik, and he returned and laid siege to his own capital. The garrison then refused to obey the usurper, and as the result of a bloody battle fought in the streets of the city, Amr fell into the hands of the kalif. After a pretended reconciliation, Abd el Melik treacherously executed his cousin, put his supporters to death, and banished his family. This accomplished, he took up his march for Irak again, accompanied by all the troops that he was able to gather. He sent letters in advance intended to lead prominent men to desert the standard of Musab, and they appear to have had considerable effect. Musab endeavored to anticipate his enemy, and advanced to a place called Maskam, said to have been on the borders of the desert near Palmyra, where the usual miracles of valor and horrors of butchery were performed, and at last Musab was slain. After the battle, Abd el Melik proceeded to Kufa, entered it in triumph, ordered large sums of gold to be distributed among the people, and taking a position in the palace, gave audience to the citizens and received their informal allegiance.

While thus sojourning in the palace, the head of Musab was brought to him, and as he noticed one of

the bystanders shudder at the not uncommon sight, he asked the reason. "In this place," the other replied, "I saw the head of Hosein placed before the governor of Kufa; I saw the governor's head in like manner placed before Moktar; I saw the head of Moktar placed before Musab; and now I see the head of Musab placed before thee!" Horror seized the kalif at the ominous recital, and he gave orders that the hall which had witnessed the gruesome transactions should be destroyed, in order that his own head might not at some future time be there presented to some other conqueror. Forty days more Abd el Melik remained at Kufa in order to carry out the engagements that he had made with the inhabitants, and to appoint officers to govern for him.

The success of Abd el Melik in the East made him confident, and upon his return to Damascus he determined to proceed against Abdalla. It was the year 691. While the kalif was meditating upon the expedition, there appeared to him a man born at the time that the Kufans had refused to give their aid to Ali. He had, so the story goes, rejected all nourishment in his infancy, until his life was despaired of, when Iblis appeared and advised that he should be offered the blood of a kid, of a goat, of an adder, and in this way his appetite had been first satisfied. In youth he found himself unable to refrain from shedding blood, and as he grew up his chief delight was in carnage. His name was Hejaj. He now said to the kalif: "I have had a vision, and in my dream, I have slain Abdalla, the usurper of Mecca; wherefore

send me against him, and I will surely deliver him into thy hands!"

To this unnatural man the kalif accordingly committed the command of the expedition, giving him a sufficient army. Hejaj hastened to accomplish his mission; he appeared before Abdalla, having passed Medina without molesting it, and after resting a while at Taif, gained a victory at the first onset. He then sent for more men, and sat down before the city to reduce it by a regular siege. Day by day and month by month the supporters of Abdalla gave way before the silent potency of famine and the force of the well-directed lances of the besiegers, until even the relentless Hejaj wrote to Abdalla urging him to capitulate, and relieve the Holy City of its horrors. With true Arabian infatuation Abdalla refused, in spite of the fact that the citizens were deserting his banners, and his sons were calling upon him to have pity upon the people.

At last the end came; in imitation of the examples of Hosein and of Musab, Abdalla, with a handful of companions, thrust himself into a breach that the enemy had made, astonished even his opponents by his reckless acts, and fell, struck upon the head by one of the invaders. The cry "Great is Allah!" which arose from the army of Hejaj, announced that Abd el Melik was undisputed kalif of Islam; and that the cities of Mecca and Medina had lost all their pristine importance. Hejaj was left in command of the forces at Mecca, and, in fact, of all Arabia. He pulled down the Kaaba (which had been partially burned, and afterwards repaired, in

the time of Abdalla) and put it in order; he ruled the poor Meccans with a rod of iron, and tormented them apparently for no other purpose than to see their pain.

In the year 695, a rebellion in distant Korassan caused Abd el Melik to need the help of a strong man to the eastward. Hejaj was made governor of Irak, and he repaired to Kufa, which he entered in extremely impressive style, riding into the city at the head of a large military force. He went directly to the mosque, where he ascended the pulpit, and announced to the trembling people that he had "come to make the wicked man bear his own burdens and wear his own shoe"; that he saw before him "heads ripe for the mowing, and turbans and beards sprinkled with blood." "Servants of rebellion and perfidy; I am not a weak one; I will strip you as the bark is stripped from the tree; I will scourge you as the camel is scourged which strays from the herd; I will break you in pieces as the stones are broken on the highway. I am Hejaj, son of Yusuf! If I shave, I raze the skin!" At Bassora he made like speeches, which naturally stirred up much opposition against him; but he kept the turbulent people quiet, and that was the duty which his master required of him. He likewise defeated the rebellious governor of Korassan and brought that region under the kalif's sway. It was at this period that Hejaj founded Wasit, a city half way between Bassora and Kufa, in order that he might from it more easily control the region (A.D. 702, about)

All this time the fanatical Karejites were stirring up the whole eastern portion of the kalifate, and by their desperate infatuation they gave constant solicitude to Abd el Melik and his governors. They proved the fiercest and most incorrigible enemies that Hejaj had to meet; but in time, even they were conquered, their last commander, Shebib, who

COINS OF THE EARLY KALIFS.

overcame Hejaj in several battles, was drowned when retreating, after an encounter in which his army had been worsted. When Shebib died, Abd el Melik found himself at peace with all parts of his dominions. From that time (A.D. 696), there was quiet for five years.

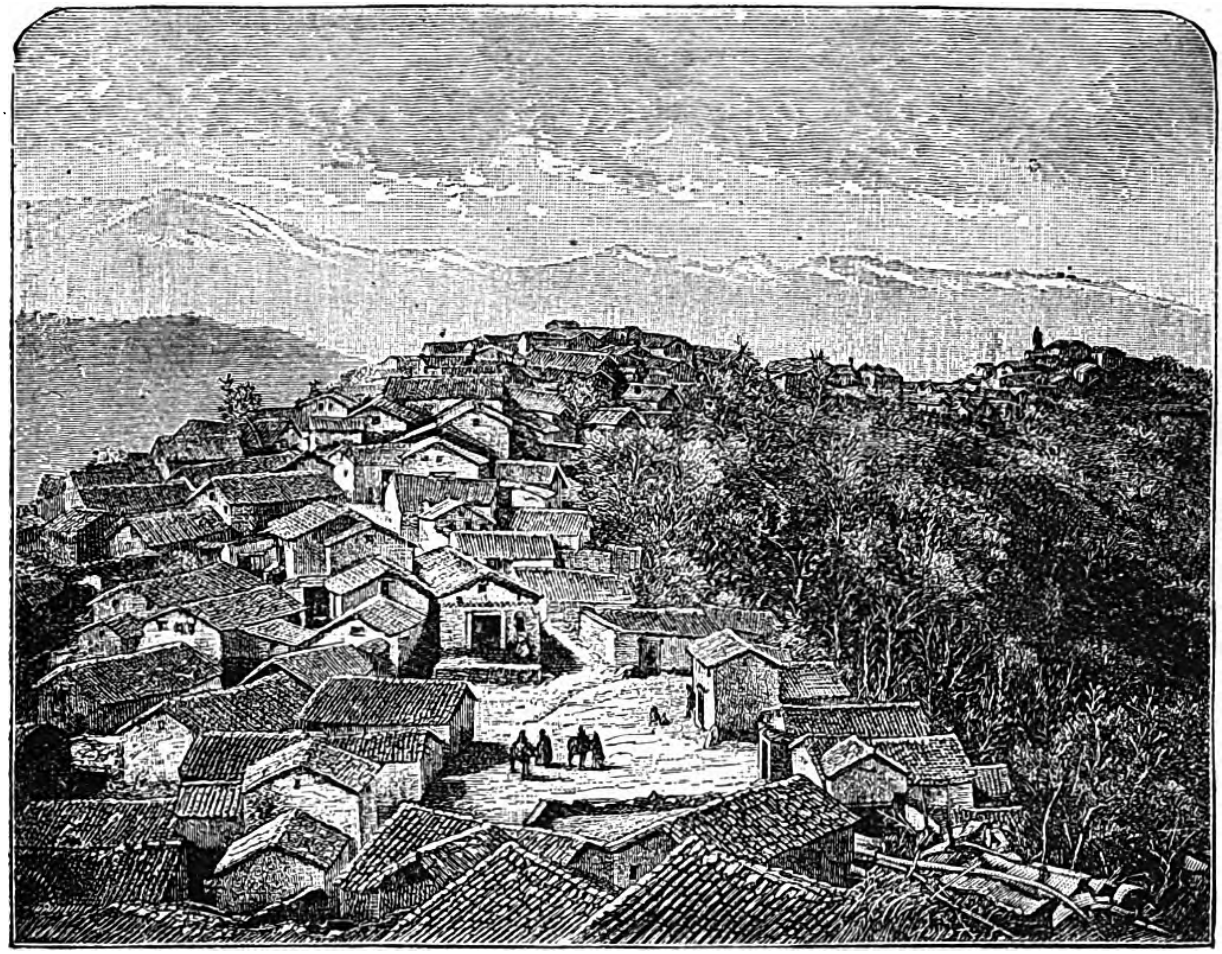
The reign of Abd el Melik is notable as being the

period when first the Saracens coined money for themselves. The time for the payment of tribute to Constantinople had almost come to an end, and this kalif refused to pay it longer in the coin of the empire. Arabia and Syria and Irak had all depended upon Persia and the Roman empire for their currency, and when Abd el Melik now began to pay the emperor of Constantinople in Arabian coin, that monarch refused to accept it; upon which the kalif declined to pay the tribute longer in any form, and being one of the most powerful rulers of the world he was able to persist in his refusal, and thus to add to his independence.

During the time that the wars had been going on between the kalifs of Damascus and Mecca, the Africans who had formerly acknowledged allegiance to the Saracens, renounced it, and as soon as Abd el Melik found himself in a condition to make an effort to bring them back to their loyalty, he sent an army in that direction under Hasan (A.D. 692). It advanced along the northern coast to Kairwan, and thence to Carthage, which was reduced after a long siege, its inhabitants being scattered to Andalusia and Sicily. The Berbers of the region were not so easily overcome; but even they finally gave way, and the whole land came under the sway of the kalif.

The Saracens were afterwards led by their guides to a mountain to the southwest of Carthage, where the Berbers made a stand under the command of their queen, Kahina (A.D. 698). The struggle was severe, and for a while doubtful, but at last the queen was captured and beheaded in the presence

of the Saracenic commander. This was not accomplished, however, until the Africans had themselves laid their territory waste from Tripoli to the Straits of Gibraltar. Twelve thousand Berber warriors were incorporated in the Saracenic army, and immense accumulations of spoil were taken from the conquered cities to Damascus. This was the third time



A BERBER VILLAGE.

that the Saracens had conquered Africa, but their supremacy was shortly overthrown again, and the Roman and Greek inhabitants were fain to call the Arabs back to relieve them from the Barbarian rulers, whose government they soon found unbearable.

The reign of this powerful kalif came to a close in 705, and he was succeeded by his eldest son, Wa-

lid, with whom the glory of the dynasty culminated. Abd el Melik was a man of more than ordinary military ability, as the extension of his kingdom and the subjection of his rivals amply prove; but he was also addicted to letters, and encouraged literary men, giving them extravagant presents from his royal fortune. During his reign the three great poets of the early kalifate, Aktal, Farazdak, and Jerir flourished, and they were overwhelmed with honors and riches by the kalif. Aktal was the chief favorite and his good fortune proved too much for him; he dressed in superb garments of silk, ornamented his person with golden chains, and indulged in unbecoming familiarity with his patron.

XXXIII.

THE GLORY OF THE OMIADES.

WHEN Walid assumed the reins of government that had fallen from the hands of his father, he naturally sought to continue some of the lines of public policy that he knew had been successful. He was a man of luxurious habits and elegant tastes, as tastes went at that period; he delighted in piling up grand edifices, in adorning them with all the gorgeousness for which Oriental architecture is famed, and he evidently wished to leave monuments of this kind which should keep him forever in memory. In this he was successful. He erected a grand mosque at Cairo on the site of one that then stood there, and adorned its pillars with gilded capitals; he beautified and enlarged the mosque at Jerusalem that his father had built, and encouraged pilgrimages in that direction; he sent architects from the capital to tear down and build up those structures at Mecca which the faithful so greatly venerated, and he scandalized the feelings of the men of the olden time by thus continuing the departure from the simplicity that they remembered from their youth. His efforts were not all made at a distance from home, for he dispossessed the Christians of Damas-

cus of their ancient church of St. John the Baptist, on which Roman emperors had long lavished their gold, and in which they had accumulated many relics of martyrs and saints, and on its site he employed workmen by the thousand in erecting a mosque in which, by uniting the architecture of Greece and Persia, he laid the foundation of the Saracenic style, from which some of the graces and ornamentations of the Gothic were to be borrowed in another age.

While Walid was living in luxury at Damascus and gratifying his artistic tastes, his generals were fighting for his empire in Asia Minor, in Korassan, in Africa, and making his authority everywhere felt. They ravaged Cappadocia, Armenia, Pontus, and Galatia, and brought to Damascus the usual crowds of captives bearing rich spoils. They crossed the Oxus, drove before them the hordes of Turkestan, and captured the city of Bokhara; they went again to Samarkand and, after a siege, obliged it to pay a great tribute annually in gold and to contribute three thousand human beings every year to the slave-marts of Damascus;* and they undermined the religion of the Magians; they overran Scinde, and penetrated in that direction as far as the great river of India (A.D. 708).

On the water, their fleets ravaged Sicily and Sardinia, sacking cities and carrying off booty, prisoners,

* "There is no place in Central Asia which has so impressed the imagination of Europe as Samarkand," Schuyler's "Turkistan," vol. i., p. 236. In 1497 the city was described as one of the most delightful for situation in the habitable world, and being of "wonderful elegance."

and many beautiful maidens for the slave-market and the imperial harem. Everywhere the dread of the Saracens was becoming a new terror, for these were the times when international law was unknown and rulers did not expect to govern except by irresponsible despotism. So extensive was the sway of the kalif, indeed, that there seemed to be little left for his arms to conquer. They found their limit at the Pillars of Hercules.

We have seen a general rushing into the waves of the Atlantic, and complaining, like a lesser Alexander, that he had no world to conquer; now another Saracen, pursuing his career of conquest to the same limit, finds a means of carrying his standard farther. Success is not always good fortune in the struggle of life, and in earlier ages, when law was weaker and rulers arbitrary, a general was never sure of winning lasting favor by advancing the projects of his king.

At the beginning of his kalifate, Walid had sent one Musa into Africa to reconquer and quiet that revolutionary land. This general advanced to the spot where the continents of Africa and Europe approach within fifteen miles of one another, and at the town of Ceuta, situated on a rocky promontory facing the great rock of Gibraltar, met his first effectual repulse. It proved but the forerunner of victory and conquest more notable than any he had before accomplished. Through the Pillars of Hercules he was destined to carry Moslem supremacy into a continent on which it had before been all but unknown.

Three centuries before this time the furious West Goths had entered the peninsula of Spain and had overcome the Roman power; but now they were themselves weakened and rent by internal dissensions and ready to fall before a determined antagonist. More than a century had passed since the Goths had embraced Christianity, and they therefore now represented the same enemy that the Moslem had encountered on the banks of the Bosphorus.

> "Famine and pestilence had wasted them;
> And treason, like an old and eating sore,
> Consumed the bones and sinews of their strength."

The ruler of the Goths in Spain at the time was Roderick, whose name was destined to become the favorite of poets and ballad-writers, and to be surrounded with a halo of romance such as has fallen to the lot of few heroes of his class. Romance has, indeed, almost obliterated the true story of this ill-fated monarch. He was son of a duke of Cordova, and under King Witica had risen to a great renown, of which he had taken advantage to seize the throne and to banish the king (A.D. 708). Witica's sons, unable to make head against him, had passed over to Africa, where Count Julian, then commanding Ceuta, had received them, taken their part, and offered to re-establish them upon the throne of their fathers.

At this juncture the feelings of Julian towards Musa changed completely, and instead of wishing to have him as an enemy, he looked upon him as a most desirable ally. He therefore surprised his

Moslem opponent by offering (either directly, or through Tarik ben Zeyad) not only to give up the stronghold of Ceuta, but to lead him to further and much richer scenes of conquest. Musa was not prepared for so sudden a change, and naturally doubted the sincerity of his whilom enemy, but he prepared to seize upon the chance it offered. He sent to the kalif, at Damascus, for permission to accept the proposition, telling him that the territory he wished to enter enjoyed a climate milder than that of Syria; that its fields were more fertile than those of Yemen; its vegetation more fragrant that that of India; its mines richer in precious metals than those of Kathay; and its shores embroidered with flowers of brighter colors and sweeter perfumes than those of Eden itself. Such a seductive picture was too much for a kalif given over to pleasures of sense, and he sent his permission to Musa with as much eagerness as it had been asked, though he warned his viceroy not to venture until he had assured himself that the count's sudden change was not simulated.

Musa accordingly sent over the strait a force of four hundred foot-soldiers and a hundred cavalrymen, under command of one Tarif, who debarked at a place that still bears his name, and reminds us in our word "tarif" of a "duty" which was forcibly levied upon vessels afterwards passing through those waters. This expedition realized the general's fondest hopes, and he returned in October, bearing to Musa rich booty and many captives. A second and more formidable expedition was made ready as soon

as possible, and sent to the fated country of the Goths. Tarik,* who commanded it, landed on a rock known to the ancients as Calpe, now called Gibraltar (Jebel Tarik: the Mount of Tarik).

"A countless multitude they came;
Syrian, Moor, Saracen, Greek renegade,
Persian and Copt and Tartar, in one bond
Of erring faith conjoined,—strong in youth
And heat of zeal. . . .
Thou, Calpe, sawest their coming; ancient Rock
Renowned, no longer now shalt thou be called
From gods and heroes of the years of yore,

* The name Tarik suggests some of the perplexities encountered in this investigation. The difference between "Tarif" and "Tarik" in Arabic is but a single dot, and this seems in the passage of centuries to have become so confused that historians are not able to distinguish the two persons, if, indeed, there were two. Makkari, Weil, and Dozy assert that it was "Tarif abu Zora" who passed from Africa to Spain "in 710." Woodward, (Ency. Chron.) and Miniana tell us that "Tarif ibn Malik," went over "in 711"; and Miniana omits to give the name of the leader in 710. Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, Irving, Conde, Woodward, Sédillot, En-Nowari the Egyptian, and Lopez de Ayala assert that it was "Tarik ben Zeyad" who crossed in 710; though Woodward thus contradicts his previous statement about "Tarif." Most good authorities are agreed that it was Tarik ben Zeyad who led the expedition of 711. Alcantara, Bleda, Larousse, and the editor of "La Nouvelle Biographie Générale" say that it was the same person who led both incursions, though the last mentioned gives his name as "Tarik," and Larousse as "Tarif or Tarik;" and, finally Ibn-abd-el-Hakem, Ibn-Khaldun, and Sédillot, know no "Tarif," though Hakem knows two "Tariks," neither of whom is mentioned by the other writers. "Tarif" was unknown before this time, and does not appear in history afterwards. "See Baron de Slane's "Histoire de Berbères," vol. i., pp. 215, 346; Makkari's "Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain" (Gayangos), vol. i., pp. 265, 516; Weil, "Geschichte der Chalifen," vol. i., pp. 517, 518. Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, "Histoire d'Espagne," vol. i., pp. 381, 382.

" Kronos or hundred-handed Briareus,
Bacchus, or Hercules ; but doomed to bear
The name of thy new conqueror, and thenceforth
To stand his everlasting monument.
Thou sawest the dark-blue waters flash before
Their ominous way, and whiten round their keel,
Their swarthy myriads darkening o'er thy sands.

" There on the beach the Misbelievers spread
Their banners, flaunting to the sun and breeze :
Fair shone the sun upon their proud array,—
White turbans, glittering armor, shields engrailed
With gold, and cimeters of Syrian steel ;
And gently did the breezes, as in sport,
Curl their long flags outrolling."

The invaders encountered the Goths soon after their arrival, and a decisive battle was fought (July, 711) a few miles northeast of Cadiz, known generally as the Battle of Jeres, or Xeres, in which Roderick was killed and his army put to flight. When the news of this victory reached Musa, a mean-spirited fear entered his mind lest his general might gain too much glory, and crossing the strait himself with a body of ten thousand warriors, he sent orders to Tarik not to pursue the enemy. Indignant at receiving such a command, Tarik called a council of war, at which Julian, inspired with the courage of an implacable hatred, spoke plainly for continuing the struggle. "Shall we," he cried, "leave the flying Christians time to rally and to call back their broken courage? No! let us unsheathe our swords and pursue them without stopping for breath! Let us take their cities! Our task will not be accomplished until we can lay ourselves down quietly within the walls of Toledo."

The words aroused the military enthusiasm of all, and Tarik eagerly embraced the moment to divide his army into three portions, and to order an immediate campaign against Elvira, Cordova, and Toledo. The corps sent against Elvira, captured that city, and also Malaga and Ecija; the second, took possession of Cordova; the third body, commanded by Tarik himself, so much alarmed the people of Toledo that they fled in large numbers to the valleys of the Pyrenees, and those who could not fly surrendered, with the promise to pay tribute to the Moslems. At Toledo Tarik captured a costly table of pure gold, adorned with precious stones, said to have been made by Solomon, son of David, and took off one of its valuable emerald legs. Musa afterward claimed the trophy and caused a new leg of gold to be made for it; but when he presented it to the kalif at Damascus, Tarik, by producing the missing leg, proved that he, and not Musa, had the first right to it.

After this victory, Tarik ventured to go still farther to the north, and only turned upon his track when he had reached Gigon on the Bay of Biscay and was obliged to stop. Then he returned to Toledo to give an account of himself,—to tell his superior officer why he had not stopped in the midst of his career of conquest. He was thrust into prison for his success; but he was afterwards set at liberty and replaced in command, by order of Walid, and then he joined Musa in a plan to subdue the remainder of Spain. One warrior went to the westward and the other to the north, and after various successes which

belong rather to the Story of the Moors in Spain * than to our subject, they met again before Saragossa, which city they captured, for "Allah filled the hearts of the infidels with terror," as a Moslem chronicler avers.

Inflated by his wondrous successes, Musa planned a magnificent campaign, which, had he carried it out, would have given quite a different phase to subsequent European history; he determined to make his way back to Damascus by the way of Constantinople, thus possessing himself of Europe from the West to the East, surrounding the Mediterranean with a connected series of Moslem allies and ranging the entire ancient world under the standard of the prophet.†

Just as this grand idea had been conceived, Walid sent an order calling both Tarik and Musa to the capital. He had begun to fear lest the rivalry between them (they being of Berber and Arabic blood respectively) might cause some great catastrophe, and endanger the success that had been won. Tarik travelled by rapid stages and reached Damascus before Musa, who took in his train thirty thousand captives and immense quantities of booty. Tarik arrived in the presence of the kalif just as that monarch was about to breathe his last; he recounted to

* See "The Story of the Moors in Spain," by Stanley Lane-Poole, New York and London, 1886.

† "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," by Edward Gibbon, chap. li. Gibbon compares this design with that of Mithridates to march from the Crimea to Rome, or with that of Cæsar to conquer the East and return home by the North. All of these magnificent schemes he thinks were surpassed by the successful enterprise of Hannibal.

him the achievements which had resulted in the complete conquest of Spain, (then called Andalusia after the Vandals), and received from his master many thanks for his services. Further reward was doubtless to come, but meantime the kalif died. Musa had scarcely finished his laborious journey to the capital.

Having reigned ten years, Walid thus died at the age of forty-two, in the year 715, after a life of personal ease, during which his generals had filled all the surrounding nations with the fear of the Moslem arms, and had carried his renown from one end of the ancient world to the other. They had penetrated the region beyond the Oxus, bearing their victorious arms almost to the borders of China (710 A.D.), and promising to extend the domains of the kalif through that country to the Pacific Ocean, as they already touched the Atlantic. The greatest glory of the Omiades had been gained.

XXXIV.

THE STROKE OF THE HAMMER.

THOUGH Tarik and Musa brought the greatest glory to the Omiades, the fate of one of them, who received simple thanks, shows again the impotence of success to secure good fortune; but the sadder treatment that Musa suffered emphasizes it still more. When that general reached the capital, bringing after him long trains to enrich his sovereign, he found that his actions were to be judged by a new kalif.

Soliman, brother of Walid, assumed the reins of government without objection by any one, for he was reputed to be endowed with ripe judgment, with a good heart, and a character unstained; besides possessing that gift of eloquence so highly esteemed by the Saracens. We may suppose that all the facts in the case of Musa have not been preserved, for this clement and judicial ruler with unexplained haste called him immediately to the bar to answer to certain accusations that had been made against him. One of them was based upon his false claim to have discovered the table of Solomon.

"Hast thou found," asked the kalif, "any people of valor on the peninsula?"

"Yes, my lord, more valiant than I can tell thee," replied Musa.

"And what hast thou to say about the Christians?"

"They are lions in their castles, eagles on horseback, women on shipboard, and veritable goats for flight to their mountains when they are vanquished."

"And the Berbers?"

"They resemble the Arabs very much in their impetuous mode of attack, and in holding out; like our nation, they are patient, sober, and hospitable; but they are the most faithless people in the world; neither word nor oath is sacred among them."

"What about the Franks?"

"They cannot be counted for multitude; they are prompt to attack, and brave in a fight; but timid and easily discouraged in retreat."

"And have you defeated these, or have they defeated you?"

"Never, by Allah, has one of my banners fled before them; my soldiers have never hesitated to attack them, were the enemy eighty to their forty!"

Thus the aged Musa reported,* and yet in spite of all, the kalif ignominiously doomed him to stripes, stood him bare beneath the scorching sun of a Damascus day, and laid upon him a fine which reduced him to poverty. The savage punishment was meted also upon his family, and they were all executed, fined, or otherwise made to feel the displeasure of the kalif.

* Gayangos gives the report more fully in his translation of Makkari, vol. i., page 297, and appendix E, page lxxxviii.

The new government in Spain proved more moderate and liberal than the old, and the people rejoiced in the enjoyment of their own religion, manners, and habits; and the privilege of being governed according to the laws to which they had been accustomed. The old treaties between the Christians and their Saracenic conquerors inform us that "the Christians are not to be molested, their churches are to be respected, and their persons preserved inviolable, on the sole condition that they remain faithful to the government, and pay the tribute agreed upon."

The new kalif now seemed to wish to concentrate all his efforts against Constantinople, and made extraordinary preparations to conquer it. He despoiled the mountains of Lebanon to obtain cedar trees to construct at Alexandria a fleet destined to blockade the port, while at the same time a land army was sent thither through Asia Minor. In the summer of 716, the capital of the empire found itself invested by a host of the most implacable warriors, —a host more prodigious than it had ever been attacked by. The Greek fire with which the same Saracenic hordes had been dispersed in the days of Moawia I., was now used against the invading vessels, with success. "This defeat of the Saracens by Leo is really one of the greatest events in the world's history," says Mr. Freeman, "for if Constantinople had been taken by the Mahometans before the nations of Western Europe had at all grown up, it would seem as if the Christian religion and European civilization must have been swept away from the

earth." * Soliman determined that his personal presence would give life to the troops and set out for the scene of action, when he was attacked by an indigestion produced by intemperance in eating, and suddenly died, leaving his throne to a cousin, who assumed authority as Omar II.

It was in October, 717, that the new kalif began his reign, too late in the season to permit him to send reinforcements to Constantinople that year; but in the ensuing spring a fleet was despatched from Egypt, though its commanders were too much afraid of the terrible Greek fire to venture near the city, and anchored off the coast of Bithynia. The seamen were largely men who had once been under the Roman government, and they now determined to desert the Moslem cause. They stole some boats and rowed up to the capital of the empire, crying, "Long live the Emperor of the Romans!" but their reception was a surprise: the Constantinopolitans either suspected them as spies or despised them as traitors, and launched upon them such volleys of their fearful fire that the boats began to burn, and the deserters jumping into the water were drowned in large numbers. The Romans pursued their advantage, and burned the entire fleet, leaving the remainder of the besiegers to suffer the lingering pains of famine. Every avenue of escape seemed to be cut off, and the ignominy of the former attempt upon the city was repeated. The kalif was overwhelmed by this failure to overcome a single capital,

* Edward A. Freeman, "Outlines of History," chap. vi. Leo III. (the Isaurian) came to the throne in March, 717.

when he reflected that his predecessors had vanquished kingdoms, and in the year 720 he died.*

A brother of Soliman now succeeded to the government as Yezid II., in accordance of an agreement made by the two cousins Omar and Soliman. His immediate solicitude was regarding an insurrection against the kalifate by the governor of Korassan, who aspired to independence and had involved in his scheme many inhabitants of Irak. Yezid sent a force against the insurgents, and a battle was precipitated near Bassora, in which the pretender was killed, and the movement thus stopped. A war in Armenia followed, which was not concluded until the following reign. These movements are the only ones to which the historian Tabari gives attention.

Much more interesting to us are the events which occurred on the peninsula of Spain. There the Saracens, not satisfied with their former achievements, began to look towards the rich plains of France on the other side of the Pyrenees. It was during the period of the *rois fainéants*, those pleasure-loving and do-nothing kings; and the representative of the kalif in Spain thought that he might extend still farther the domains of his master by reaching over the mountains.

Accordingly, in 721, the armies of the Saracens precipitated themselves upon the region of Aqui-

* The immediate cause of the death of this intemperate sovereign was, however, an indigestion. A Syrian Christian made him a present of two great baskets of eggs and figs, and, in his gluttony, he ate them both one morning, adding to the mass a large number of grapes from Taif, a quantity of marrow and sugar, a kid, six fowls, and seventy pomegranates,—veritably a savage repast!

tania, then ruled by King Eudes, formerly Duke of Toulouse, and laid siege to Narbonne, an ancient town not far from the sea, which had before been devastated by the Goths. The Arabian writers say in their exaggerated language that the Christian troops were so numerous that the dust raised in their movements obscured the light of the sun; but the Saracen commander called to mind the faith of the Koran, "If Allah be for us, who can be against us?" Terrible was the onslaught when the antagonists came together; but in the midst of the strife the leader of the Arabs was stricken down; his forces were thrown into confusion, and the only resource for them was to retire, leaving the field covered with the bodies of their slain. Abd er Rahman, the governor of Spain, came to the rescue and led his defeated troops back beyond the Pyrenees.

In the year 724, Yezid II. died, and his brother Hisham became kalif. Under him the incursions into France were renewed, Carcasonne, even now surrounded by the strong walls that are said to have resisted the onslaughts of the Goths, was taken and given over to all the fury of an unrelenting soldiery; Nismes opened its gates to the onrushing hordes, and gave hostages for its loyalty; gold beyond estimate was wrung from the conquered towns, until the death of a leader of the Saracens caused a slight respite in 725. It was but temporary, however, for a new commander came to the front, and a wilder fury inspired his soldiery. Then the Moslems spread themselves everywhere, feeling confident that "Allah had put terror into the hearts

of all the Christians, so that if one of them showed himself, it was only to ask mercy." Along the beautiful Rhine they rushed; throughout the valley of the Rhone; at Vienne, at Lyons, at Mâcon, at Châlons, at Dijon, they left their marks in the shape of the tottering walls of abbeys and churches; through the region watered by the Loire, they ran, apparently wandering hither and thither with no plan but to sack and rob wherever they could find anything to attract their cupidity. France was in a state of anarchy, but the Saracens were not wise enough to do more than ravage; they found themselves unable to effect durable conquests such as they had made in other lands. One leader followed another in rapid succession, each anxious first of all to make his private fortune, after the fashion of the Roman governors, —the Verreses and the Catilines of ancient times When was the terrible scourge to end? History soon tells us.

In the year 732, that Abd er Rahman who had led his defeated troops over the Pyrenees eleven years before, ventured again to launch them forth, probably to gather up as much spoil as he could and then retreat to the more congenial South. He hastened by rapid marches towards the city of Tours, ravaging the country, placing the towns under heavy tribute, pillaging the shrines of religion, and loading himself down with an increasing amount of spoil.

Count Eudes feared to meet the enemy again alone, and sent for help to Charles, Duke of Austrasia, who, as Mayor of the Palace, was then ruling the land of the feeble Chilpéric II. and controlling that

do-nothing prince himself. He represented the shame that would come to France if it should allow its mailed soldiers to be defied by an army of almost naked Moslems. Charles replied that their enthusiasm would be less when they had laden themselves with booty, and when rivalry among their leaders had divided their counsels.

Nor were the Saracens

> " Of victory less assured, by long success
> Elate, and proud of that o'erwhelming strength,
> Which, surely, they believed, as it had rolled
> Thus far unchecked, would roll victorious on,
> Till like the Orient, the subjected West
> Should bow in reverence at Mohammed's name;
> And pilgrims from remotest Arctic shores
> Tread with religious feet the burning sands
> Of Araby and Mecca's stony soil."

> " Africa had poured
> Fresh shoals upon the coast of wretched Spain;
> Lured from their hungry deserts to the scene
> Of spoil, like vultures to the battle-field,
> Fierce, unrelenting, habited in crime."

Both sides were confident, but it appears that the Saracens were surprised, when they encountered unexpectedly the forces that Count Eudes and Count Charles had collected, spread out on a plain between the towns of Tours and Poitiers. The Frankish army was fresh from victory over the barbarians in Germany, but it beheld before it several thousand Berbers and Arabs, accustomed likewise to victory, and expecting now the bountiful spoils of a rich land. The Saracen leader, unwilling to meet his enemy on the plain, retreated to a more commanding position,

and then for several days the two great masses of men looked each other in the face. The generals did not know that upon the result of the combat depended the fate of the Western World, but they must have felt that the position was one of greatest moment, and each wished to make his soldiers familiar with the appearance at least of the enemy they were to meet.

The impulsive Saracen ventured the first move, thrusting a squadron of Numidian cavalry upon the battalion of the Franks bristling with steel. The brave and agile sons of the forest came with a terrible shock against the immovable wall formed by infantry, and hour after hour through almost all of the day rank after rank of the Africans fell before their well-drilled antagonists, until finally they were forced to quit the field in disorder and hasten to the protection of their booty. In vain did Abd er Rahman try to stem the torrent of retreat; the powerful army of Duke Charles rained blows like those of a sledge-hammer upon the unarmed Numidians, and his soldiers, reminding themselves of their conflicts with the Northern barbarians, fought with equal desperation, until finally the Saracen leader himself was killed, and the day was lost.

The onward march of the Moslems towards the north was stopped; and the rising sun the next day shone upon a deserted camp, which the Franks cautiously explored, only to find here and there a relic stolen from some chapel or a little spoil from a private castle. The Saracens were gone; excepting that, according to the exaggerations that were long cur-

rent, the dead bodies of more than three hundred thousand were left on the field. Duke Charles has ever since that day been known as Charles Martel, on account of the hammer-like strokes that he poured upon his enemy. The Christian losses were set down by the partial monks at fifteen hundred, but that no such disparity existed, is made evident from the fact that Charles Martel thought best not to follow up his success; but permitted the Saracens to make good their escape, and allowed his own allies to return to their native German woods.*

The Saracens themselves were unwilling to make further efforts to invade the land of the Franks, because news reached them that their conquests in Africa were threatened, and that there were also alarming risings among the Eastern peoples, who had become restive under the tribute to which they were subjected. The governor of Africa therefore sent a general to Spain ordered to collect the remnant of the Saracenic army and bring it across the Straits of Gibraltar. The Moslems acknowledged themselves beaten not only in word but in deed, and gave up further attempts upon Frankish territory. Thus they left Charles Martel free to consolidate his power, and to transmit it to his son Pepin, through whom it descended to his greater grandson, Charlemagne.

While these momentous operations had progressed in the west, Hisham had made attempts to advance

* The historian Gibbon gives an account of the decisive battle of Tours (called by the French the battle of Poitiers) in his fifty-second chapter. See also "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," by Sir Edward S. Creasy, and "Magna Charta Stories," edited by the present author. (Boston and London, 1882.)

in the direction of Constantinople, but had been obliged to return in shame to Damascus. A few years afterwards, he attacked the town of Nicæa, the metropolis of Bithynia, which was protected by walls fifteen or twenty feet in thickness and thirty or forty feet in height. Here, too, he was unsuccessful.

After these struggles, there followed disturbances in Armenia, where a powerful race from beyond the Caucasus had fallen upon the possessions of the Moslems. These barbarians were known as Kazars.* At first they ravaged the border-lands with success; then they were repulsed; again, they gained a victory over the Saracens; and thus, like the weaver's shuttle, victory was thrown from side to side. The year at which these disturbances began is not determined, but they were renewed in 728, when the king of the Kazars advanced to the very gates of Mosul in Mesopotamia, not far from the ruins of ancient Nineveh. From this point they were obliged to retreat, and they crossed the Caucasus in safety. A permanent colony of Saracens was established as a protection against further inroads. The next year the troops of the kalif penetrated the country of the

* Much controversy has been waged over the origin of the Kazars. They are supposed to have been Scythians. From remote antiquity they dwelt in a region north of the Caspian, whence, in the sixth century, they made terrible incursions into Persia, even after the defiles of Daghestan had been closed by the wall and the iron gates of Kobad, the father of Chosroes, in 507 A.D. Gibbon describes this wall as being formed of stones "seven feet thick, twenty-one feet in length," framed without cement into a wall running more than "three hundred miles from the shores of Derbend over the hills and through the valleys of Daghestan and Georgia."—"Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chapter xl., par. vi.

Kazars without effecting any thing of importance. In 731, the Kazars made another invasion, but were speedily forced back again. Thus the battle waged among the half-conquered subjects to the north, until, in 743, the kalif died, and his dominions which he had not increased, fell to his nephew, Walid II., who reigned but fifteen months, and was followed by Yezid III., who died of the plague after a reign of five months. Ibrahim followed, but was deposed at the end of three months.

XXXV.

THE BLACK FLAG OF ABBAS.

THE conquering career of the Saracens had come to an end. The kalif whose troops had been overthrown in their pride by Charles Martel, though he did not materially decrease the extent of the dominions received from his predecessor, handed them over to his nephew without addition. Walid II. was not at all the man to impart new life to the military movements; he had none of the qualities of a successful ruler; and as he had been away from the capital, he assumed the supreme authority ignorant of the duties it involved, and liable to make fatal mistakes at every step. He was lazy, indisposed to affairs, and gave himself up to unrestrained indulgence, carrying his dogs with him to the sacred soil of Mecca, and even drinking there the forbidden wines. Thus his actions estranged his people from him, and when, in 743, his cousin aspired to the office of kalif, the citizens of Damascus opened their gates and received him as Yezid III. Walid at last seemed to obtain the mastery of himself, and fought a battle in which, though unsuccessful, he won some admiration for his valor.

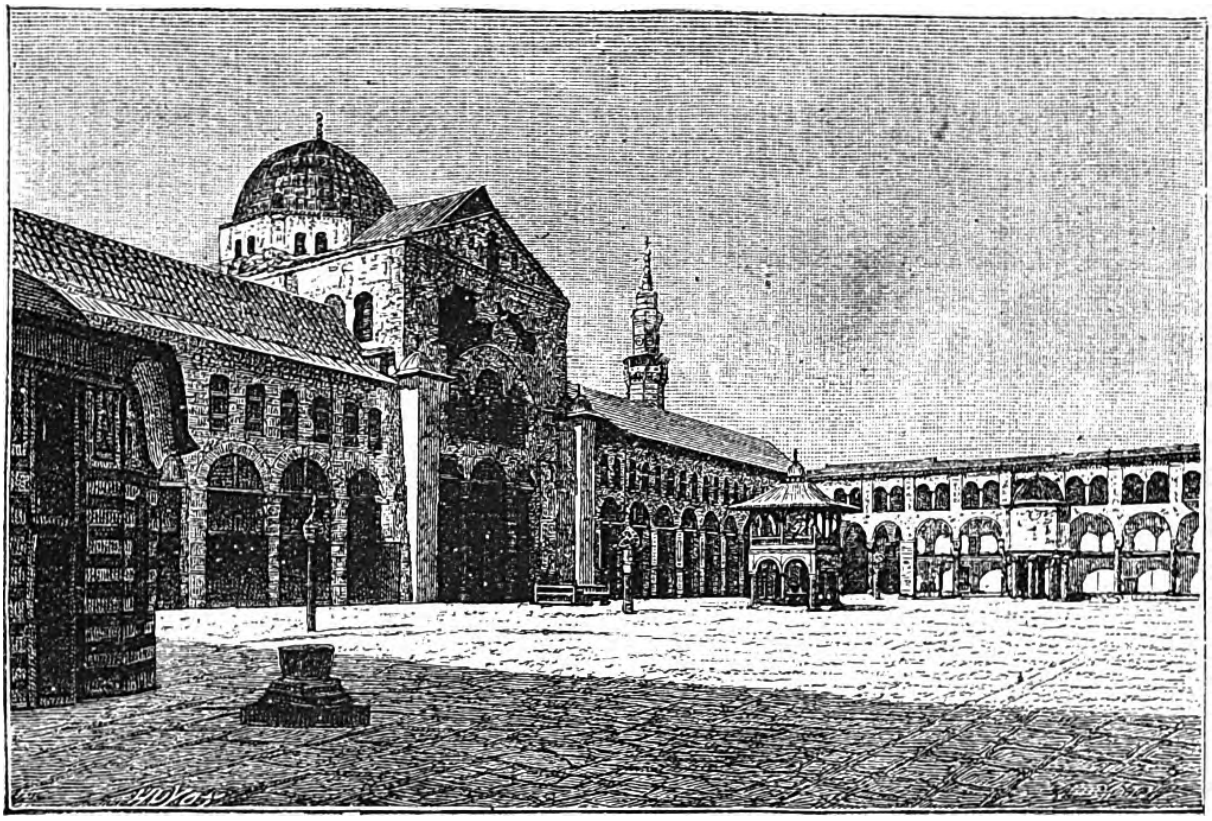
Ten years of civil war followed; the death of Wa-

lid (in 744) not serving at all to quiet the disturbances that his ill conduct had excited. Africa escaped from the kalifate; Spain was rent with discord; and above all, Korassan was filled with insidious emissaries of the faction that bore the name of Ali, stirring up hatred against all the family of the Omiades. To these disturbing elements must be added the most powerful of all, that of the descendants of the uncle of Mohammed, Abbas, son of Abd al Muttalib, known in history as the Abbassides. Their grounds for claiming the kalifate were not so strong as those of the Alyites, but they themselves were more forcible, and they were united in action, which the Alyites were not.

At the time of the troubles in Africa and Spain, in the reign of Yezid II., and Hisham, the Alyites and the Abbassides sent emissaries secretly throughout Korassan, preaching discontent and mysteriously bidding the people to expect a new apostle especially sent by Allah, who should be of the blood of the prophet. Hisham had heard of these missionaries, and had put the governors of Irak and Korassan on their guard against them. There was now a revolt at Homs (Emesa), and Palestine rose on pretext of revenging the death of Walid II. In this disturbed condition of the kalifate, Yezid III. died. His brother, Ibrahim (744), was soon overcome by a grandson of Merwan I., then governor of Irak, who ascended the throne as Merwan II. (Nov., 744).

Hardly had Merwan been saluted as kalif in the mosque at Damascus when a new revolt occurred. He had retired to Harran, which he made his resi-

dence, when Homs, just north of that place, though it had assisted in raising him to the throne, pronounced his deposition. Merwan intended to visit immediate and condign punishment upon the town; but he heard that a revolt had broken out almost under the walls of Damascus; in fact, he found himself in the midst of uprisings which demanded the most active efforts to repress, and he rose so



COURT OF GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS.

completely to the situation that he was nicknamed from his agility "the Ass of Irak."

An apparent peace followed, and for two years it seemed as though the Omiades might hold their power a little longer; but the Alyites and the Abbassides were constant in their secret labors, and under the lead of masters of intrigue, were making sure of every step. By the year 745, they began to

ask whether the time had not arrived for throwing off the mask. The governor of Korassan wrote to Merwan: "I see some sparks scintillating under the ashes, and from them a great fire may be kindled; let us hasten to extinguish these sparks, if we wish to avoid the conflagration: why must I ask if the children of Omia are awake, or if a leaden sleep shuts their eyes?" Merwan sent orders for rigorous treatment of all persons guilty of sedition; but it was too late.

The conspirators now publicly announced at Merv the beginning of a new dynasty, and no prayers, promises, or reasonings were sufficient to cause them to retrace their steps. The kalif trembled when he heard this news from a province upon which he had so greatly depended; whose brave and strong inhabitants had furnished his armies their most indomitable soldiers; and when he reflected that the battle-cry of this revolt was "the Family of the Prophet!" he awakened himself a second time. Ibrahim, the leader of the movement, was captured and imprisoned at Harran; but his lieutenant, Abu Muslim, the real heart and soul of the insurrection, pressed on successfully; captured Merv, and called to his banner all who were willing to unite in a strong blow at the kalif in the centre of his power. Merwan made his captive suffer for his lieutenant's success, and put him to death, but Ibrahim bequeathed his vengeance to his brother, Abu Abbas, called *el Saffah*, the Bloody. In the autumn of 749, Abbas appeared in the capital of Korassan, and was announced as the successor of the prophet; he then

took possession of the palace, unrolled the black flag of his family, and called upon all the faithful to join in reconquering the heritage of Mohammed.

Merwan, with his usual agility, was on the march for Korassan with an army, at the first news of the revolt; the two claimants for the supreme power over a region extending from the Indus to the Atlantic, found themselves face to face on the banks of the river Zab (in January, 750), some thirty miles southeast of Nineveh and Mosul, not far from Arbela, celebrated as the scene of the last great battle between Darius the Mede and Alexander the Great, B.C. 331.* Battle was joined at mid-day, and continued until the hour of prayer in the afternoon. The enthusiasm of the Saracens seemed to have deserted the Omiades, and though Merwan performed deeds of great valor, his men were simply an inert mass; they carried out the orders badly, and the enemy profited by each evidence of indecision. The fight was renewed the next day; but at last the troops of the Abbassides gained the advantage, and the soldiers of the kalif sought to recross the river, flying in disorder. Many were cut down by the enemy, large numbers were drowned in the Zab, and the cause of the Omiades was forever lost. Merwan himself took to flight. At Harran he found his wives and children, and with them went to Kinnesrin, but he did not stop there. He was robbed of portions of his goods on the way towards Emesa, from which place he hastened to Damascus; but the gates of the capital of his dynasty were closed

* See "The Story of Alexander's Empire," chapter iii.

against him, and he continued on to the southward, not stopping until he had reached the delta of the Nile, where he was overtaken and decapitated by soldiers of Abul Abbas.

The assassination of Merwan was the beginning of a butchery by Abbas which gave good ground for his name el Saffah. He had overthrown the family of the Omiades, and now he determined to cut it out root and branch. To this end, he ordered the entire connection executed, in a general proscription—sons, grandsons, friends, were ordered to indiscriminate butchery, of which the details are too heart-sickening for description. Vengeance did not stop with the living; the funereal marbles that stood over the remains of the dead were broken down, ashes and bones were torn from their resting-places and scattered. This done, Abbas felt secure of his throne.

In spite of these desperate efforts on the part of the new kalif to root out of the world every relict of the former dynasty, there remained one at least, Abd er Rahman, son of Moawia, who managed to escape to Egypt. There, avoiding inhabited regions, he trusted himself to the mercies of the wandering Berbers of the desert, and gained their respect by his noble origin, but especially by his princely appearance and accomplishments, his courage and manly virtues. Information regarding him reached Spain, then rent by discord, and, after several years of vicissitude, Abd er Rahman was called to become kalif at Cordova. Thus Abul Abbas failed to gain control of the entire dominion that the Omiades had ruled, and a representative of his mortal enemies gov-

erned a large portion of the now permanently divided kalifate. His reign of thirty-two years was a constant series of struggles, from all of which he came forth victorious, forcing even his enemies to admire his success. It was during the period covered by this long reign that the defeat of Charlemagne occurred at Roncesveaux (A.D. 778), upon which balladists have built the romantic tales of Roland and his sword Durando, of Ganelon and his despicable treason.

The first solicitude of Abbas after he had obliterated the family of his opponents was to secure the kalifate to his own tribe in succession, and in his efforts to accomplish this he showed considerable misdirected sagacity. He determined to make the interest of the family of Abbas one, and to this end divided the realm into several parts, giving each one to a different member of the family. Thus to Mansur, his brother, destined to be his successor, he confided the government of Irak or Mesopotamia; to an uncle he gave Yemen; to another (Abdalla ben Ali, ben Abdalla, ben Abbas), Syria; to another, Bassora; to another, Egypt; and to Abu Muslim, to whom he owed his authority, he assigned Korassan. A nephew was stationed at Kufa, and another relative at Mosul. Africa and Spain gave him no trouble, for they had been taken from him. Having made these arrangements for the permanence of his dynasty, Abul Abbas died at Anbar, on the Euphrates, in the year 754, at the early age of thirty-three.

XXXVI.

BY BAGDAD'S SHRINES.

THE dynasty that Abul Abbas had now founded was destined to continue for five hundred years, and in glory and riches to surpass by far any thing that the Omiades had dreamed of. Mansur ("the Victorious"), brother of Abbas, who was designated by him as his successor, had been governor of Irak, but at the moment of the kalif's death he was engaged in the performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca in company with that founder of the dynasty, Muslim, who wished to return thanks to Allah for his goodness in giving him success. It was his fortune to be the first to salute Mansur as kalif, and his powerful example was immediately followed by those pilgrims who surrounded him.

At the head of the religious troops Mansur then took up the journey towards Irak, but hardly had he come to the borders of his own territory when he was informed that the means which Abbas had taken to strengthen the family feeling and make the dynasty stable had resulted in giving him a formidable rival. His uncle, Abdalla, who had been the first to adopt the black colors which became those of the dynasty, and who had been rewarded for his services

against Merwan by the government of Syria, claimed the supreme authority, and was then on his way from Damascus towards that portion of Irak in which the Abbassides had held court.

Muslim was assigned the difficult task of facing the rebellion, and the two former friends met in deadly struggle on the banks of Mygdonius, at primeval Nisibis, that unfortunate city which had been in former ages tossed back and forth between the Romans and their Eastern enemies. Long was victory doubtful, but finally it perched on the banners of Muslim, and the army of the revolters was utterly scattered. Abdalla himself found safety for a while in flight. Again had Muslim accomplished the greatest service for the Abbassides; but his success proved his ruin. The kalif offered him the government of Syria, thus made vacant; but he declined to remove from Korassan, in the strong mountain fastnesses of which he loved to roam or rest, where all the inhabitants were united in supporting him. The kalif seemed suspicious of the successful champion of his cause, and called him peremptorily to court. After some delay, Muslim obeyed, only to be met by feigned cordiality, and to be pierced by the daggers of hired assassins. In the year 754, the mutilated body of the great founder of the new dynasty was cast contumeliously into the Tigris!

Spain and Africa having been lost to the kalifate, Mansur recurred to that oft-repeated scheme of his predecessors, and pushed his armies towards the domains of the Roman emperors, sending his first troops to capture Melitene (Malatia), in Eastern

Cappadocia, which was at the time a centre of importance. Semiramis is said to have laid the foundations of the place; Trajan had made it a great city; Justinian had surrounded it with new walls; and it was celebrated as the site of victory gained by the Romans over the Persians in 577. The stronghold was taken and disarmed, a garrison of four thousand Saracens was placed in command of it, and the victorious forces of the kalif pushed on through Cilicia to Pamphylia, where a Roman army was met and cut to pieces on the river Melas. Here the advance was stopped by the news of a fresh rising in Korassan, among followers of Abu Muslim who belonged to the Karejites, but were known as Rawendites from the fact that they inhabited the city of Rawend. Their tenets are doubtful.

Mansur made the pilgrimage to Mecca in the year 557, purchased some of the buildings which then encroached upon the mosque, and enlarged the enclosure. He then returned to Irak by way of Medina, visiting on the way the tomb of Mohammed and the city of Jerusalem, and took up his residence at Hashimeya, not far from Kufa. Here it was that the Rawendites made their demonstration; but they were quickly overcome and their leaders thrown into prison. This act of repression led to a more formidable rising; the prisons were attacked, the captives delivered, and the kalif actually besieged in his palace. Mansur took the lead in the attempt to drive the insurgents away, placing himself in great danger, and they were finally overcome and completely dispersed. This experience disgusted the

kalif with Hashimeya and its inhabitants, and as he was equally unwilling to trust himself to the Kufans, in whose city he would otherwise have enjoyed living, he decided to establish a capital on a new foundation. The spot which he chose was not far from that Medain, of which we have read so much in the earlier portion of our story, but a little north of it, on the Tigris. Giving it the name Bagdad, and calling it Dar al Salaam, the City of Peace, he erected his palace in the centre, building about it circular walls, in order that it might be approached from all quarters equally well. The waters of the Tigris were carried around the ramparts by means of a ditch, and a hundred and sixty towers served as further protection. Every art of the architect and the designer, of the artist in stone, of the painter and gilder, was made tributary to the grandeur of a city which was intended to embody something of the magnificence of a dynasty that counted its wealth by the hundred million, and hesitated at no outlay that would make a display. Of the scenes of delight that Mansur created at Bagdad, it might be said, as the poet * has written of another Oriental prince's pavilion :

" A pillared avenue of stately palms
Slept in the sun ; a fountain rose and fell,
Breaking the silver surface at its base ;
Goldfish like sunken ingots lay in heaps
Beneath the fountain's rain ; beside its rim,
Dipping his long bill in a lotus cup,
A black crane stooped ; between the silent palms
A length of silken carpet was unrolled ;

* Richard Henry Stoddard.

A white gazelle dangled a silver chain,
Picking its way through tufts of broidered flowers.
Flowers of all hues and odors strewed the ground;
Roses, fire-red; large tulips, cups of flame;
Banks of snow-lilies, turning dew to pearls,
And rolling rivers of anemones.
Broad meadows stretched afar, wherein, dim-seen
Through winking haze, the still Euphrates lay,—
The great Euphrates, fresh from Babylon."

This overweening desire to aggrandize the new capital led to a memorable dissension, which has left its mark in literature as well as history.

It is said that during the kalifate of Abbas there came to his court from Korassan a representative of a family known since as the Barmecides, named Jaafar, who offered the kalif a ring containing poison, which he said might serve him in case of necessity. His son Kalid became chief vizier under Abbas, and continued to hold the same office under Mansur. The family was rich beyond computation, and Kalid was sage, eloquent, frank, and courageous beyond any other men of his day. So great was the influence of Kalid, that at this time, when Mansur was at the height of his interest in the creation of Bagdad, and proposed to rob the palaces of the Chosroes, at Medain, of their magnificent columns and other masonry, he dared to interpose objections to the plan. With the sagacity of a wary courtier he asserted that to destroy the evidences of the Persian grandeur was to obliterate the proofs of the power of Islam which had overthrown it. The date of the foundation of Bagdad is placed at the year 762. The protests of Barmek were efficient, and the palace of the Persian monarchs was not disturbed.

The great-grandchildren of Ali were at this time living now at Mecca, now in Irak, now in Korassan, now in Egypt, ever biding their chance to interpose and snatch something from the kalif. Mansur tried in vain to discover their place of retreat, for he knew that since they had lost the advantage they expected to gain when they aided Muslim in placing the Abbassides upon the throne, they had meditated revenge and would surely take it when their time arrived. In 762 they thought it had come, and one of them, Mohammed by name, openly assumed the title of kalif, at Medina, where he had collected a considerable number of followers. Mansur sent an army against him, and he was overthrown and killed; but his partisans in Irak thought themselves strong enough to revenge his death. They set up at Bassora his brother, Ibrahim, and he started for Kufa at the head of an army. He was, however, destined to no greater success than his brother, and a bow bent at a venture sent an arrow through his neck. With him fell the last hopes of the Alyites for the time. Mansur directed that the cities of Kufa and Bassora should be surrounded with strong walls, and he placed behind them garrisons sufficient to restrain the fickle inhabitants should they be again tempted to take up the part of any new disturber of the peace of the kalifate. Troubles arose soon after this in Africa, and an army was sent thither, which drove the revolting Berbers to the mountains. It was, however, not long before they returned, and then the general of the Saracens visited condign vengeance upon them (A D. 772). He also repressed

a revolt at Tripoli (A.D. 773), and established peace in that portion of the kalifate, which, no less than Korassan, was ever ready for an insurrection.

Mansur had now arrived at an age which admonished him that there was but little more left of the present life, and he wished to make a final pilgrimage to the holy cities. He had nominated as his successor Isa, his eldest son; but before setting out, he caused him to renounce his claim and relieve the people of their oath to him. This Isa finally did, under pressure from Kalid Barmek. He was afterwards referred to as the man who had been "to-morrow," but had become "day after to-morrow"; for his younger brother Mehdi was set in his place and the people were called to swear allegiance to him. Mansur then set out for Mecca, and died at a station three miles from that city. He was interred in the ihram of the pilgrim, his grandson Harun al Rashid saying the last prayers over his body (A.D. 775). Mansur is represented to us by the Arabian historians as a person of uncommon personal beauty, and of brilliant traits of mind, which were beclouded only by an inordinate parsimony, for which some of those about him were at times hardy enough to censure him.

The news of the death of the kalif was carried over the deserts to Bagdad in eleven days, and the grandees convened at once to promise allegiance to Mehdi, in accordance with expectations. The new ruler was of a generous spirit and showed a remarkable willingness to look after the well-being of his people. He not only surrounded himself with able

statesmen, but he gave audience personally to his subjects, and endeavored to redress their wrongs; he allowed many prisoners, whom the severity of Mansur had deprived of their freedom, to return to the world; and he reinstated those governors who had suffered from the same cause.

Before the first year of his reign had closed, Mehdi determined to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and his arrangements for it were of the most luxurious description. Tents were carried to protect the prince and his suite from the sun, and many camels bore freight of snow from Korassan to cool the air still more; every means was taken to guard against all weariness of the flesh and to ensure the enjoyment of the long journey. Arrived at Mecca, the kalif's extravagance became still more manifest: millions of gold coins, brought from Yemen and Egypt, were distributed among the fortunate inhabitants; the rich covers of the Kaaba were taken off and heavy silken stuffs put in their place; at Medina, too, the mosque was enlarged and adorned in a manner worthy of the great ruler. Even the route to the holy cities was not forgotten; milestones marked the distance from Bagdad to Mecca; caravansaries were erected at convenient points; wells and cisterns were dug to quench the thirst of pilgrims; and relays of camels and asses were provided,

COIN OF MEHDI (A.D. 779).

not only to Mecca, but also to Yemen, that the transmission of royal messages might be rapid and sure. Such were the extravagant measures by which Mehdi sought to benefit his country.

Peace did not always perch upon his banners however, and it was in revolutionary Korassan (Province of the Sun) that opposition to the generous ruler is first to be remarked.

"In that delightful province of the Sun,
The first of Persian lands he shines upon,
Where all the loveliest children of his beam,
Flow'rets and fruits, blush over every stream,
And fairest of all streams, the Murga roves
Among Merou's [Merv's] bright palaces and groves;—
There on that throne, to which the blind belief
Of millions raised him, sat the Prophet-chief,
The great Mokanna. Over his features hung
The veil, the silver veil, which he had flung
In mercy there, to hide from mortal sight
His dazzling brow, till man could bear its light.
For, far less luminous, his votaries said,
Were even the gleams, miraculously shed
O'er Moussa's cheek, when down the mount he trod,
All glowing from the presence of his God." *

Thus the poet introduces to his readers Hakim, called Mokanna, "the Veiled," a prophet who led an obscure sect in Korassan at this time. This order was a reminiscence of the days of Muslim, from whom probably Hakim had learned what he knew about Islam. He appeared at about the year 670, and pretended that Allah had been incarnate in Adam, Noah, Muslim, and that at that time he was incarnate in him. His followers became enemies of the Moslems, and made successful predatory excur-

* Moore's "Lalla Rookh," "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan."

sions into their territory. Mehdi sent an army against them, and so great was their number that it is said that thirty thousand left Hakim's standards when they saw that the cause was lost (about 779). When driven into his strong fortress, Hakim poisoned and burned all his family, after which he threw himself into the flames and was completely consumed, excepting his hair. He left a message that he was to reappear again in the form of an aged man riding a gray beast, and for many years his second coming was looked for.*

The former desire for conquest had now given place to the love of luxury, and the armies of the kalifate were hardly sufficient to perform police duty at home; but Mehdi was, nevertheless inspired with the desire which had been so strong in his predecessors, of making some reprisals upon the Roman empire. The first force that he sent in that direction was obliged to retreat to Syria, after having penetrated as far as the town of Dorylæum, in Phrygia, which it had been unsuccessful in attacking. The following year, Mehdi recruited a formidable army among the strong warriors of Korassan, and set out himself at its head, leaving at Bagdad his eldest son, Hedi, and taking with him Harun al Rashid, who, under direction of Kalid Barmek, then received his first lessons in war.

The year 785 was that in which Irene, widow of Leo IV., took the government of Constantinople in the name of her son, Constantine V. Italy had

* An account of Mokanna is given by Professor Vámbéry, "History of Bokhara," pages 42–52.

been wrested from the Eastern empire of Charlemagne, and the empress saw that her only hope of conquest was by making head against the Saracens. Accordingly she prepared an army of ninety thousand men for this purpose. Mehdi collected one almost as large, and sent it out under command of Harun to invade the domains of the empress. Victory followed the black flag of the Abbassides, and Irene at last saw the camp-fires of the Saracens lighting up the shores of the Bosphorus. A battle for possession of the city followed, and the Saracens were victorious; then Irene in terror asked terms of peace, and the Saracens ceased their operations, upon her promising to pay an immense annual tribute to the kalif; besides furnishing guides and provisions for the army on its return, and permitting the kalif to take back with him thousands of prisoners and beasts, besides large sums of ready money.

After this success in arms, Mehdi gave attention to putting down the false religionists who had arisen among the people, and in cultivating literature and the arts. In the year 784, he determined, though he was still a young man himself, to ensure the crown to his son Harun; but before this design had been accomplished, his life came to a sudden end, either by accident in hunting or by means of a poisoned draught designed for another (A.D. 785). He was affectionately remembered by his people as just and generous, as the beautifier of the mosques at Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, and as the only one of his dynasty who did not break the rule of the prophet forbidding the use of wine. The reign is

noted, as Tabari observes, for the increase of heresies, owing probably to the growth of the Persian influences. There had come to be many who horrified the orthodox by expressing skepticism about the Koran and the prophet, immortality and paradise, and indulging in unseemly pleasantries over the subjects of fasts and prayers.

Hedi was promptly proclaimed kalif in the room of his father in 785; and the ever restless Alyites took immediate steps towards revolution in their own favor. It happened that they made their demonstration at Mecca at the time of pilgrimage, when the city was filled with men from all portions of the kalifate, and naturally many of the partisans of the Abbassides were among them. A bloody struggle between the factions ensued, and the unfortunate children of Ali were again defeated.

Hedi was destined to enjoy the supreme authority but a few months, and most of his attention was given to putting down certain atheists, nihilists, or materialists, and in making the succession secure to his eldest son, against the known wishes of his father. This design was frustrated by Kalid, who felt the tenderness of a teacher for his pupil, and remembered also the benefits that he had received from Mehdi. Hedi did not live in friendly relations with his mother, who, he thought, exercised too much influence in government. In consequence of this ill-feeling, he endeavored to poison her; but his design was discovered and he was himself smothered with pillows in the year 786, after a reign of only fifteen months, at the age of twenty-six years.

XXXVII.

AARON THE ORTHODOX.

WE have now reached that brilliant period in the history of the world when the heroes of romance were ruling at once,—imperial Charlemagne in the West and capricious Harun al Rashid in the East, and we can scarcely turn the pages on which the record of the times are written without expecting to see a paladin of the one start up before us, or to have our ears ravished by the seductive voice of Queen Scheherazade telling her romantic tales. The familiar picture of the period is crowded with jinns, efreets, and ghouls; minarets burnished with gold shine from every quarter; gayly-lighted pleasure barges float on the waters of the Tigris; deadly scimetars flash before our startled eyes; we are introduced to caves in which thieves gorged with gold have hoarded their ill-gotten wealth; we tread the streets of Bagdad by night in company with kalifs true and false; we hear the sound of a voice calling upon us to exchange old lamps for new; we enter the gorgeous palace of the four-and-twenty windows, and as we behold the unfinished one, exclaim with the poet:

> "Ah, who shall lift that wand of magic power,
> And the lost clew regain?

The unfinished window in Aladdin's tower
Unfinished must remain. . . .

"So I wander and wander along,
And forever before me gleams
The shining city of songs
In the beautiful land of dreams."

It is a land of dreams to most of the world, but it was far otherwise to the citizens of Bagdad then. To them Harun was a flesh-and-blood monarch; his scimetar was no fantasm of a dream; his caprices were not the entertaining story of a fascinating Persian genius; the brilliant Oriental imagination had not yet wrought out its rich pages of adventure and despotic marvels; the people of Bagdad did not smile at the erratic deeds of their chief ruler: to them he was one whose words made every subject tremble, lest the fate of the Barmecides, perchance, might be theirs; lest the whirling scimetar of the executioner should cut through their own necks. The people who in that day were born "adown the Tigris,"

"By Bagdad's shrines of fretted gold,
High-walled gardens green and old,"

who rested beneath the citron shadows, who saw

"The costly doors flung open wide,
Cold glittering through the lamplight dim,
And broidered sofas on each side,"

did not enjoy the charms of the scenes they were surrounded by so much as we may now; for every step they took was dogged by fear—fear that was based upon ghastly experience of the tyranny and

peremptory savagery of the "good" Harun al Rashid, of which poetry so gayly speaks to us to-day.

The reign of this monarch, who raised the greatness of the kalifate higher than it has ever before been carried, was divided into two periods, during the first of which the sovereign, giving himself up to the enjoyment of luxurious ease, permitted his ministers, the sons of Barmek, to send his armies hither and thither in search of conquests or in efforts to put down risings against his power. This period closed in 803, and the affairs of the kalif then fell into a state of confusion which only grew worse after his death in 809.

The Barmecides were patrons of art, letters, and science, and encouraged men of learning to make their homes at the capital; Harun sympathized in this policy, and Bagdad became magnificent almost beyond the power of words to express to readers accustomed to the comparative simplicity of nineteenth-century magnificence. In the progress of Bagdad the kalif's brother Ibrahim, a man of parts, who afterwards became a claimant for supreme power, was a helper not to be left out of the account. The chief vizier, who bore the burdens of state, as the title signifies, was Yahya, son of Kalid, son of Barmek; and he it was who encouraged trade, regulated the internal administration of government in every respect, fortified the frontiers, and made the provinces prosperous by making them safe. Jaafer, his son, governed Syria and Egypt, besides having other responsibilities. The family was an ornament to the

forehead and a crown on the head of the kalif, as the chroniclers relate; they were brilliant stars, vast oceans, impetuous torrents, beneficent rains, the refuge of the afflicted, the comfort of the distressed, and so generous are they represented that the story of their beneficence reads like a veritable page from the Thousand and One Nights.

The Alyites rose in Africa in 792, and the Barmecides put them down; dissensions broke out at Damascus, at Mosul, in Egypt, among the Karejites, but they were restrained by the strong ministers, and all the while the kalif pursued his career as patron of arts and letters; wits and musicians thronged about him; grammarians and poets, jurists and divines, alike were encouraged in their chosen pursuits. In 802, a new emperor came to the throne at Constantinople; Nicephorus usurped the place of Irene. He courted Charlemagne on the west, and insulted Harun on the east. He sent a letter to the kalif, saying:

"From Nicephorus, King of the Greeks, to Harun, King of the Arabs.

"The queen considered you as a rook and herself as a pawn *; she submitted to pay tribute to you, though she ought to have exacted twice as much from you. A man speaks to you now; therefore send back the tribute you have received, otherwise the sword shall be umpire between me and thee!"

To this haughty note Harun replied:

* The rook or castle in the game of chess is permitted to make long moves across the boards in lines parallel with its sides, while the pawn may move diagonally but one square at a time.

"In the name of Allah most merciful!

"Harun al Rashid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog.

"I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother! Thou shalt not hear but behold my reply!"

The kalif set forth that very day; he plundered, burned, and completely conquered the region about Heraclea, in Bithynia. Nicephorus sued for peace, which was granted him on condition that the usual tribute should now be paid twice a year. Scarcely had the kalif reached his palace, when the treacherous emperor broke the treaty, and Harun advanced upon him over the Taurus mountains in spite of the inclement winter weather, with an army of one hundred and twenty-five thousand men. Heraclea and other fortresses were again taken, and this time dismantled, and peace was once more agreed upon.

At about this period, Harun became jealous of his great ministers, the Barmecides, one of whom had secretly married his sister, and decreed their ruin. With the usual Oriental treachery, the different members of the family were taken and imprisoned for life or slaughtered, to the last man. In this case, as in many others in the Saracen history, no sentiment of gratitude for all that had been accomplished by the faithful servants was taken into account; though Harun is said to have shed tears over the fate of the two children of his sister and Yahya, he did not allow such sentimental weakness to interfere with his atrocious purpose. There had been enemies of the Barmecides at court, some of whom had lost

their offices on the advent of the favorites, and these had endeavored to prejudice the mind of the kalif against them. As Persians they were naturally hated, and these enemies accused them of disloyal ambition. When they found themselves unable to carry their point in this way, they accused the Barmecides, with more grounds, of infidelity, and doubtless they were thought nihilists by many, for they had little sympathy with Islam. Harun was himself exceedingly orthodox, and very scrupulous in obeying such of the laws of his religion as he did not care to break,* and though at time he paid little attention to this accusation, he found it convenient to remember, when he had determined to overthow his favorites.

"Fallen was the house of Jaafar; and its name,
The high romantic name of Barmecide,
A sound forbidden on its own bright shores,
By the swift Tigris' wave. Stern Harun's wrath,
Sweeping the mighty with their fame away,
Had so passed sentence: but man's chainless heart
Hides that within its depths which never yet
The oppressor's thought could reach."

An Arabian poet thus deplored the fall of the Barmecides:

"No, Barmek! time hath never shown
So sad a change of wayward fate;
Nor sorrowing mortals ever known
A grief so true, a loss so great.

"Spouse of the world! thy soothing breast
Did balm to every woe afford;
And now, no more by thee caressed,
The widowed world bewails her lord."

* Though no kalif had ever performed the pilgrimage with more care than Harun, he utterly ignored the canon against the use of wine, which was recklessly drunk at his feasts.

The friends of the Barmecides at Bagdad now proved so many that Harun found it a less comfortable place of abode than it had been, and accordingly he took up his permanent residence at Rakka, on the Euphrates, where he had, indeed, been living for a while before this time.

The truce with Nicephorus did not stand, but it was four years more before the ravages of the Saracens, which extended from the shores of Bithynia to those of Cilicia and included the island of Cyprus, had made sufficient impression to force the emperor again to sue for peace, and had punished him enough to make him keep his agreement (about 804). Probably Constantinople was now saved from capture, and the whole Western world from being overrun by the Saracens, by the fact that a new revolt in Korassan called the attention of the kalif in that direction. At the same time he was disturbed regarding the succession. The rising in Korassan was quickly settled without bloodshed, and the kalif returned home; but his rest was brief. The following year (807) new troubles called Harun to Korassan. Leaving his son Kasim at Rakka, and Amin, whom he designed as his successor, at Bagdad, he took with him another son, Mamun, and hastened to the seat of the revolution. From the outset of this journey, he felt that his life was nearing its end, but he lived long enough to calm the province. He suffered all the time from a malady, but more from not entirely baseless suspicions that his sons desired his death and were using means to compass it.

When Harun was assured that his last moment had

almost arrived, he chose his shroud, ordered his grave prepared, and then superintended the savage butchery of one of the captured revolters, causing his body to be cut to pieces limb by limb in his presence.* Two days after this ghastly performance, he died, breathing his last at the capital of Korassan (A.D. 809). In accordance with an agreement to which he had caused his sons Amin and Mamun to swear within the sacred enclosures of the Kaaba, on the occasion of the last of his many pilgrimages, Harun was succeeded by his eldest son Amin.

An Arabian poet addressed the following quite outspoken lines to Harun on the occasion of one of his pilgrimages:

> "Religion's gems can ne'er adorn
> The flimsy robe by pleasure worn;
> Its feeble texture soon would tear,
> And give those jewels to the air.
>
> "Thrice happy those who seek the abode
> Of peace and pleasure in their God;
> Who spurn the world, its joys despise,
> And grasp at bliss beyond the skies."

By the terms of the will of Harun, Mamun was still to be governor of Korassan; but as soon as the kalif was dead, the vizier marched a large portion of the troops belonging to that province to Bagdad, in order to support the assumptions of Amin, though this was directly in opposition to the expressed wishes of Harun, and left Mamun comparatively helpless. Harun knew that there was a feeling of

* See "The Caliph Haroun Alraschid and Saracen Civilization," by E. H. Palmer, page 124.

jealousy among his Arabian subjects against the Persian influence, and feared that it would break out in a more intense form after his death. He knew that the ascendency of the Barmecides had strengthened the Persian party, and that the extinction of that family had made the Arab faction think themselves of greater comparative importance in state politics. Still, the balance was not complete, and he made a plan which he thought would give the government stability in the face of such sectional jealousies. He ordered that Amin should hold his court at Bagdad, and Mamun rule from Merv; but that upon the death of either brother, the power should be reunited in the hands of the survivor. The plan was the surest to promote the dissension that it was intended to avoid. Amin, not satisfied with taking from his brother the troops that were his, set aside the succession in favor of his own son. He then ordered the sworn agreement, that had been hung up in the Kaaba, to be destroyed; he omitted Mamun's name in the public prayer, and substituted that of his son; and at last, he demanded of Mamun the surrender of certain of his provinces.

Meantime Mamun had not been idle; foreseeing the events that actually occurred, he had made every effort to bind his subjects to him; he had remitted their taxes; negotiated peace with some distant rebels who might give him trouble, and had held frequent durbars (receptions), at which he dispensed justice personally. He remembered how faithful the people of that province had been to Muslim, and

he patiently awaited the action of Amin. The two brothers represented, indeed, the different peoples that composed the kalifate, for Amin was son of a woman of Arabia, and Mamun of a Persian mother. They were directed by two men named Fadhl: one, the son of Rabia, leader of the Arab faction, and the other, son of Sahl, descended from the old Persian kings.

Mamun naturally refused to give up his provinces, and war was precipitated; armies were raised by both brothers, and the first conflict occurred at the town of Rei (Rhe), where the forces of Amin were routed. Another army and another were sent towards Korassan with no better results, and Bagdad was paralyzed with terror. Kufa and Bassora came to the rescue, however, but their troops were not able to keep peace among themselves. Syria was another source of hope; but Syria was looking out for its own independence, and proclaimed a rival kalif at Damascus, who declared that he united the rights of Ali and Moawia. All the while the army from Korassan was coming down upon the capital, under command of Tahir, a Persian general of high repute.

At last the gates were reached; in the year 812, the Tigris saw the two armies lying one on each bank; and the rich city was in a state of siege; the gates were barricaded,—those gates for which the capitals of the past had been robbed; and the kalif was shut up in his palace. Week by week the circling army of Persians came closer, and the distress within the walls grew more intense. Fourteen

months passed, and Amin gave up; surrendering himself in expectation of saving his life; but he was ingloriously assassinated in spite of all.

In reference to the facts that Tahir, the general who captured Bagdad, was ambidextrous and blind of one eye, a poet addressed to him the following epigram:

> "A pair of right hands and a single dim eye
> Must form not a man, but a monster, they cry:
> Change a hand to an eye, good Tahir, if you can,
> And a monster, perhaps, may be changed to a man."

Prematurely old, Amin, unworthy of the office he had so short a time occupied, thus died at the age of less than thirty years, and Mamun, his brother, was the next day proclaimed, in the streets of Bagdad, kalif and Commander of the Faithful. Civil war was over for the time.

XXXVIII.

GOLD AND DROSS.

THE new kalif did not come immediately to the exercise of his power, for he found himself ruled by that minister to whom he owed his elevation. Fadhl had been educated to the Magian creed, before becoming a convert to Islam, and had been a trusted courtier of Harun, who made him tutor and guardian of Mamun. This familiar relation to the new kalif gave Fadhl an advantage of which he took all possible advantage, and Mamun readily abandoned to him the entire control of public affairs, with complete reliance upon his wisdom. He was known as "Master of the Pen and the Sword"; he enjoyed power such as no minister had ever wielded before. Under him the Persian influence became immense; his brother was made governor of Irak; Tahir, the conqueror of Bagdad, was made governor of Syria, and of the regions north of it, with his capital at Damascus; and the other provinces were entrusted to men of the same foreign birth. The result was general dissatisfaction.

In 814, the Alyites, ever ready for a revolt, rose in great strength, and achieved a victory over the kalif's troops, near Kufa; a new army was sent out

and conquered, and the rebels gained possession of Bassora; when suddenly their leader died or fell by poison, and they were forced to surrender. Ten months after the first rising every city in Irak had renewed its allegiance to the kalif.

The agent in this conquest, Hartama, a general of great skill, was rewarded in the usual manner by his master; he was thrust into a dungeon from which he only came out to execution (A.D. 816).

The city of Bagdad fell into a state of complete anarchy; the streets were filled with thieves and as-

COIN OF THE KALIF MAMUN.

sassins, who dared to carry off women and children in full day; who pillaged the dwellings wherever they wished; who even organized themselves into bands to rob and destroy in the suburbs. A brave citizen, armed only with the Koran, ventured to oppose these reckless men, and to call upon them, in the name of Allah and his prophet, to cease their ill deeds. The strange effort was successful; but scarcely had quiet been restored, when the scourge of a new Alyite rebellion burst forth apparently at once, in Irak, in Yemen, in the region about the holy cities.

The dazed kalif looked in vain for some means of putting an end to these constant uprisings of the

descendants of Ali, and in his despair thought to bring peace by a total surrender. He called to him at Merv, in 817, one of the great-grandsons of Ali, Ali ben Musa el Rida, born in the reign of Mehdi, a man well known for his learning, piety, and good life, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage; he then promised him the throne after his death; coined money in his name; exchanged the black garments of the tribe of Abbas for the green clothes which marked the descendants of the prophet; and sent out letters commanding that the same change of colors should be made by all the civil and military officers of the kingdom.

Much as the Alyites were pleased by this surrender, it did not bring peace: for the children of Abbas, who counted thirty-three thousand men in Arabia alone, whose chief strength was at Bagdad, rose in indignation, and, after a week of rioting and uproar, during which the air was filled with curses of Mamun, and the popular wrath was excited to its utmost, they finally deposed the kalif, and chose in his stead Ibrahim, son of Mehdi the former ruler (A.D. 817). On the summit of such a social volcano Mamun was lulled to sleep by the intriguing minister, who at first kept all information of the rising from reaching him, and then managed to make him believe that Ibrahim was not a rival, but simply his lieutenant at the old capital. While the kalif slept, the rioting went on; property became insecure; life was of no value; the farmers forsook their ancestral homes; the uncultivated lands produced no harvests; and famine followed bloodshed.

Musa, the innocent cause of the disturbance, now dared to sacrifice himself; he craved a private interview, and told the kalif that it was not devotion to the house of Ali, but aversion to it, that caused the trouble: "the men of Bagdad are discontented that thou hast chosen me as thy successor; that thou hast changed the regal color from black to green; the usurper there is not thy lieutenant, but acts as kalif in his own right; it is thine to support thy rights!" The panic-struck Mamun was awake now.

"Art thou the only one who knows this?" he cried.

"Nay; the whole army knows it!"

Secretly and instantly the kalif convened his chief advisers, and asked them for further information. A profound silence was all the response he obtained. At last one of them more bold than the others, ventured to open his mouth and say that none dared to speak until guaranteed security against the wrath of the chief minister. This the kalif gave under his hand, and thereupon he was told that the murder of Hartama was the act of Fadhl, for political purposes, that the accusation of treason was false; that all the late changes in government had been made to bolster up the cause of the Alyites, and not for the good of the realm.

Mamun instantly determined to act. He left Merv, and hastened towards Bagdad; on the way thither four ferocious soldiers were summoned before him and given private instructions. Fadhl entered his bath soon after, the four men rushed upon him, and he was beyond the power of intrigue.

The kalif when informed of the tragedy, hastened to see his minister; gazed in apparent horror upon the corpse, and ordered the murderers slain in his presence, in the sacred month Ramadan; he condoled with Fadhl's stricken mother, and sent special messengers to break the sad intelligence to his bereaved brother. In like manner, Musa, the self-sacrificing successor-elect, suddenly died; poisoned, as the world thought; and the kalif wept copiously over the remains, and buried them ostentatiously beside those of the great Harun al Rashid (A.D. 818). Then, too, the brother of Fadhl, Hasan, governor of Persia, Hejaz, and Yemen, went mad, and had to be put under restraint. Before this, however, the kalif had asked of him his daughter Buran in marriage, and had given him his own daughter to wife. Thus, in true Oriental fashion, the atmosphere was cleared by means of the assassin's knife and the poisoner's potion, and the chief actor in all the fiendish work performed the part of a bereaved and sympathetic mourner.

Like some beneficent genius, the dissimulating kalif continued his march towards Bagdad, flattering his blinded subjects the while by gifts and immunities; he resumed the black garments of the Abbassides, undermined his rival by cozening the chief men of the capital; and finally at Nehrwan he was met by the dignitaries of the city and the soldiery, who had come forth to salute him as the kalif. We have now reached the end of the first period in the reign of Mamun, that of the Alyite troubles, in which he was under the control of his minister Fadhl.

The second stage may well be called the "golden" period, for in it the kalifate increased in riches and magnificence; but it was also a time in which some of the fruits of the seeds just planted came to perfection, and great evils threatened the kingdom.

Now the kalif changed his conduct; the Persian influence was encouraged and made powerful; Hasan was released from his restraint; and soon the marriage with his daughter was consummated as agreed, but in a style of magnificence that startled the residents of Wasit, the city of the bride's father, accustomed though they were to fêtes and pageants of the greatest extravagance. The festivities, which seem to us to have been celebrated over open graves, and to have preserved fresh the tragic memory of tales of poison and murder, dissimulation and intrigue, were prolonged through nineteen days; the mother of the bride showered upon the head of the illustrious groom a thousand pearls of great cost; and furnished him a mat woven with golden threads upon which to stand while taking the easily broken vows.

Balls of amber or musk, and arrows, were thrown among the attendant throngs, each giving the one who received it a title to a fair slave-girl, a pair of horses, a piece of land, or some other valuable, and directing him where to go to claim the gifts distributed by the novel lottery. Coins of gold and silver and eggs of amber were also lavishly cast about, to be picked up by whoever would. The bridal chamber was illuminated by a taper of amber of eighty pounds' weight, supported by a candlestick

of the purest gold; and the sums of money said to have been lavished were so extravagant that one hesitates to put on record the estimates of the enthusiastic chroniclers. The kalif, and all his followers, his camels and camel-drivers, his boatmen and his horses, were guests of the restored vizier, who was either overjoyed at the brilliant match his daughter had made, or was determined to strengthen his hold upon the office to which he had been lifted; for he was seated in the place of the unfortunate Fadhl.

Persians now ruled the provinces, and worse, the rationalism of the Persians was forced upon the faithful; the memory of Moawia was formally cursed in public (826); the following year (827) the preeminence of Ali was proclaimed with equal official solemnity; and to the horror of all true believers in the mission of the prophet, it was also declared that the Koran was no longer to be deemed an eternal and uncreated book. This last was a stroke at the foundation of Islam, and was destined to exert a long and important influence.

It is related that Mamun had received from Kabul a present of a volume entitled "The Eternal Reason," which attempted to undermine Islam by teaching that reason is the only source of religion, and that revelation cannot be the sure ground upon which to base a universal cult. To seek and develop this religion of reason and conscience became thereafter his persistent effort. He insinuated doubts at first by means of meetings for discussion, at which no one was permitted to appeal to revelation, but

only to reason. Thus unconsciously Mamun began a process by which that implicit faith which had been at once the foundation and the inspiration of Islam, which had nerved its warriors in their terrible warfare, and had brought the nation out of its former obscurity to the foremost position among the peoples of the world, was to be taken from them.

It was a strange situation when the Commander of the Faithful thus strove to overturn the national faith. The kalif was not satisfied with such mild proceeding as the establishment of clubs for debate; he proceeded, a little later (830?), to threaten all who opposed the progress of his private opinions. He convened at Bagdad the most influential jurists, and caused them to be enquired of concerning their opinions regarding the Koran* (A.D. 827). Beshr, the chief judge, was asked first: "Was the Koran created or not?"

"Allah created all things," he replied.

"The Koran is a thing?" continued the questioner

"Yes."

"Therefore in your opinion the Koran is created?"

"It is plain that the Koran is not the creator," Beshr replied.

"That is not the question; tell me unequivocally, is the Koran created or not?"

Thus pressed, the great judge replied that he had no better replies to make; and the others were sub-

* For an extended account of this controversey, see "Histoire des Philosophes et Théologiens Musulmans," by Gustave Dugat, pages 82–105.

jected to the same sort of an inquisition, and with like results. Orders were given that the jurists should be examined again, and threatened with bodily torture if they still proved obstinate. Torture and the dungeon proved arguments too strong for many of the learned men, and they gave way; but Beshr and others stood by their orthodoxy and were ordered to be sent to Tarsus, where the kalif was at the moment directing a new war against the emperor of the Eastern empire.*

The war between the kalif and the emperor just mentioned had a nobler origin than any other that we have had to contemplate, for it grew out of the desire that Mamun was inspired with to advance his people in science. It happened that a Greek captive had been brought to his notice on account of his acquaintance with diverse sciences, and Mamun had discovered that he had gained his knowledge from an eminent Byzantine philosopher known to history as Leo of Thessalonica, who was then living in Constantinople in indigence, in spite of his wisdom and celebrity. Mamun determined to invite the scholar to Bagdad, and sent him a letter to that effect, which Leo placed in his emperor's hands, thinking it not patriotic to hold correspondence with an enemy to

* "Nor was this laxity of mind atoned for by any severity of morals. . . . The chief kadi was a man notorious through all Irak for the obscenity of his conversation and the loathsome character of his vices. . . . The favorite court poet was a scoffer at religion and a man of dissolute life. 'Multiply thy sins to the utmost,' he had said in one of his poems, 'for thou art to meet an indulgent lord.' . . . An extreme license of manners prevailed. . . . The very mosques were 'rat-traps set by Satan."—"Islam under the Khalifs of Bagdad," p. 253.

his country. The emperor forbade Leo to leave his dominions, and gave him the use of the Church of the Forty Martyrs as a school, adding a considerable pension. Mamun still persisted in his efforts to gain the scholar, and Theophilus increased his honors and emoluments.* This action on the part of one who had so entirely ignored the great scholar before, made Mamun indignant, and he determined to use force in the effort to carry out his design. In 830 he declared war.

Assuming command of his army in person, the kalif marched through Mosul and Antioch to Tarsus, whence he made incursions into the emperor's realm, taking fortresses and capturing prisoners, but returning to Damascus for the winter. The following spring Theophilus made overtures of peace, but in doing it offended the kalif by a breach of etiquette, and he undertook a new campaign, this time venturing as far as Heraclea, and, after doing much destruction, returning a second time to the capital of Syria for the winter. The war continued during the year 832, and both the emperor and the kalif were personally engaged in it, the seat of operations being in Cilicia. There, in 833, Mamun died suddenly, after having eaten too freely of fresh dates brought from the East. His last words were counsels of mercy, addressed to his brother Motasim, in which he urged him to govern for the good of the

* Leo was ordained bishop of Thessalonica, and afterwards became the head of a mathematical school at Constantinople. It was he who invented the system of telegraphic communication used at this time, which by means of fires, conveyed information of invasion, battles, and other incidents of war.

people, and especially to treat the children of Ali with the humanity which the descendants of the prophet deserved.

Such was the career of one of the greatest rulers that we have to consider in the story of the Saracens, a prince celebrated by the chroniclers for his clemency, the purity of his habits, his justice, and his liberality. He was not so accomplished a general as his father; but he continued and increased, the enlightened cultivation of letters that Harun had begun, and his reign has been compared to the times of the de' Medici in Italy and of Louis XIV. in France. At its beginning science had not advanced beyond the first steps, in spite of the efforts of Mansur and Harun, but his court became its sanctuary and the hearthstone about which the savants freely made themselves at home. He is said to have regarded scientific men as beings chosen by Allah to perfect human reason; as the lights of the world, the guides of humanity, without whom man would return to primitive barbarism. It is related that when Mamun was blamed for putting a Christian at the head of a college at Damascus, he said: "I chose this learned man not as my guide in religious affairs, but as my teacher in science."

In the golden middle period of the reign, riches had brought luxury, and science and letters had dispersed some of the gross customs and the confused ideas of former days. Greek treatises in astronomy, geography, philosophy, medicine, had been translated into the languages of Syria and Arabia, and public instruction had been organized, in which theory

and practice went hand in hand; and the sovereign was the intelligent director of the whole.

In this reign the philosopher, Al Kindy (Abu Yusuf ben Isaac) flourished, and also a Christian author likewise called Al Kindy, whose work, known as "The Apology of Al Kindy," in which he urges a friend to embrace Christianity, is still extant. It is one of the evidences of the toleration enjoyed in Mamun's court, that such a work should have been published and the author not executed for his temerity. The author does not allow the prophetical claim of Mohammed, he treats Islam with remarkable freedom, and assails the Koran in a most vigorous style, all of which seems to show the influence of the kalif's decree about the prophet's book. The author, an Armenian Christian, argues in favor of his own religious views and the superiority of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures with equal force and boldness.*

* See "The Apology of Al Kindy," by Sir William Muir.

XXXIX.

GLIMMERINGS AND DECAYS.

MAMUN had designated as his successor his brother Motasim, but the army was bitterly opposed to him and made a powerful effort in behalf of Abbas, son of the former. Just as an alarming revolt threatened to burst forth, Abbas, with patriotic devotion, threw himself at the feet of his uncle and swore fealty to him. The discord was immediately quieted, but the seeds of decadence had been sown by Mamun, and Motasim, by following the precedents he had established, nourished and increased them. He continued the persecutions of those who looked on the Koran in the light that Mohammed had commanded, and so greatly did this rouse feeling against him that he was fearful for his personal safety. By surrounding himself with a body-guard recruited from prisoners captured in Turkestan, he still further favored the foreign influence which Mamun had encouraged, as opposed to that of the Arabians. So much was the unfriendly feeling of the citizens of Bagdad deepened against him, that he determined to remove from the capital, and it was on this account that he founded a new city, at a point some sixty miles to the northwest, which he named Samarra.

Our attention is now called to a sect which had arisen during a former reign among the mountains of Armenia, based upon no loftier principle than opposition to every thing in Islam. Did the Koran teach temperance, these infatuated people practised insobriety; did it call for purity, they revelled in animalism; was pillage discouraged, they robbed and deprived others of their rights without scruple. With their other absurd errors they mingled some of the tenets of Magianism, a belief in the transmigration of souls, and certain dogmas of the sect known as Ismalians. The chief of the body was a reckless adventurer named Babek (and called Koremi, the sensualist), against whom all opposition had been vain. For a score of years he carried on his nefarious operations almost with impunity, and devastated many fair regions in both Armenia and Irak.

Now he dared to threaten the capital itself. The emergency was great, and Motasim entrusted the army that was to act against him to a general of Turkish birth, who encountered Babek in Azerbaijan, the most northern portion of Persia, in the region of Lake Oroomiah, at first put him to flight after a fierce battle, and then captured him. Babek was brought to Bagdad, was exhibited in the principal streets on the back of an elephant, and subjected to the jibes and insults of the populace, after which he was handed over to the executioner (A.D. 837). His doctrines did not immediately die, but the party of which he was the soul lost all political importance.

The emperor Theophilus took advantage of this disturbance to renew the struggle that had suddenly

been brought to a close by the death of Mamun, and Cappadocia became the theatre of war. Theophilus made use of ferocious wild beasts to desolate the regions about the Oxus; of stratagem to introduce spies into the immediate kingdom of the kalif; and of gold to purchase the friendship of the fickle citizens of Bagdad; thus by one means and another prolonging the struggle. At last, in 836, he threw an army of a hundred thousand men upon the borders of Syria, sacking cities, and devastating a region almost up to the limits of Mesopotamia. Thence he went to Melitene, in Cappadocia, and finally returned to Constantinople, the army giving itself over to the utmost excesses on the way; but he had overreached himself. The kalif was maddened by the devastation of his dominions. He put himself at the head of an army said to have counted two hundred and twenty thousand men, and advanced upon Amorium, a city reputed to have been the richest and most populous of all that belonged to the emperor. On the buckler of every soldier was inscribed the name of the place, as evidence of the terrible determination with which the expedition set out. Arrived at Amorium, after months of journeying and fighting, the Arabs and Turks laid siege to the city, and succeeded in entering it by the aid of a traitor who gave information of the weak spot in the fortifications. The massacre that ensued has few parallels among those of Saracenic history. The greater portion of the citizens were put to the sword. The emperor appealed for aid to the princes of Europe, among whom Louis the Dé-

bonnaire, of France, seemed disposed to take his part, but during the negotiations all three rulers died,—Louis in 840, Motasim in 841, and Theophilus in 842.

Motasim had reigned eight years and eight months; he left eight sons, eight daughters, and eight thousand slaves; eight million dinars; and eighty million dirhems; for which reasons he has been called the Octave. Under him an element of weakness, which was to bear terrible fruit in the future, was considerably increased. In the former reign the Turks had been made customs-officers, in place of the Arabians, but Motasim introduced them to his privy-councils, and thus greatly added to their political importance.

Wathek, eldest son of Motasim, assumed supreme authority in 842, and immediately issued a decree confirming the laws of Mamun regarding the nature of the Koran, thus continuing the war that had been begun against his own subjects. The suicidal effect of this pertinacity of the kalifs is illustrated in connection with the struggle with the Eastern empire that still continued. It happened that after the Moslem forces had made head against the army of the Greeks, an exchange of captives was arranged, but Wathek ordered that all of his soldiers who did not accept his views regarding the Koran should be left in the hands of the enemy, thus cutting off a considerable number from his available forces and weakening the spirits of those who remained. In consequence of such actions as this, the Saracens did not gain upon their enemy, and the kalif became so

much discouraged that he died in the year 847. He had not possessed the elevated personal character of his father, but he had imitated him in his encouragement of letters and liberal arts, and is said to have surpassed him in the magnificence of his display. He took Mecca and Medina under his special care, and the whole kingdom prospered so greatly that beggary was almost unknown. Wathek followed Mamun in the favor which he showed to the Alyites. He subjected the Christians and Moslems to persecution if they would not conform to his theological views; though towards the close of his reign he was convinced that this policy was inexpedient.

It is related that a Syrian prisoner of venerable aspect was admitted to an interview with him, who desired to question in his presence the minister of state on this subject of toleration. When permission had been given him, he asked:

"What is this doctrine that you wish to establish?"

"That the Koran is a created book."

"This is essential to the true faith, doubtless?"

"Yes, verily."

"Did the apostle oblige the faithful to accept this or did he leave them free?"

"He left them free."

"Was the apostle of Allah acquainted with the dogma?"

"He was acquainted with it."

"Tell me, then, why you wish to restrict the faithful in regard to a matter in which the apostle permitted freedom."

To this the minister had no reply ready, and the old teacher, turning to the kalif, continued,

"In the fifth sura at the fifth verse we read: 'This day have I *perfected* religion for you, and have filled up the measure of my favor upon you; and it is my pleasure that Islam shall be your religion!'" The old man then proceeded to show that the imposition of an article of faith which the prophet did not require was unauthorized, and the kalif was so thoroughly convinced, that he desisted from his attempts to base upon the Koran dogmas that had been learned from Aristotle, and there was freedom in the matter during the remainder of the reign.*

Wathek had died without naming his successor, and his foreign courtiers, the Turks (now almost complete masters of the government), embraced the opportunity to assert themselves again by placing upon the throne a brother of the late kalif, Motawakkel, a young man of twenty-six, of light and trifling character, who found pleasure in cruelty, and indulged in bestial intoxication. He had the good sense to know that the Turks who had placed the crown on his head might at any time lift it off, at the risk of taking his head too, and therefore he laid schemes to gain partisans among other classes of his subjects. He issued a decree re-asserting the uncreated nature of the Koran, and denouncing all who should deny the fact; he called about him orthodox theologians, who were encouraged to confound the free-thinkers, who had in the beginning of the former

* See "The Faith of Islam," by Edward Sell, page 127, for more details of this interview.

reign been countenanced; he renounced all sympathy with the Alyites, cursing their memory and throwing down the mosque at Kerbala which covered the tomb of Hosein.* He persecuted the Jews and Christians, ordering that they should never ride on horses, but only on asses and mules, and that without stirrups; that their dwellings should be marked by figures of dogs and monkeys, and their persons always known by yellow dresses; he refused them the right to enter the baths frequented by Moslems, or to occupy any office of public service; they were restricted in regard to their schools and places of worship; their taxes were doubled; and the very indications of their graves were obliterated.

The reign was disturbed in 852 by a rising in Armenia, which was not quelled until 856. The Moslem possessions in Egypt were at the same time threatened by the Greeks, and Damietta was pillaged and burned, while struggles in Asia Minor continued without permanent advantage to either side. During these wars the royal residence was removed to Damascus, probably that the kalif might the better direct the operations in the field; but it was finally again established at Samarra, where a palace, surpassing in some respects all its predecessors, was erected, from which the kalif continued to encourage the gentler arts of peace to such an extent that his reign, like those of Harun and Mamun, has been

* "Every one who either in act or word questioned a single syllable of the Koran was regarded as an infidel, and was in peril of being torn in pieces by the devout people of Bagdad."—"Islam under the Khalifs of Bagdad," page 273.

called a "golden age." All the splendor came to an end, however, so far as Motawakkel was concerned, on the night of the twelfth of December, 861, when the chiefs of the Turkish body-guard who had raised him to power, under direction of Wassif, one of them, assassinated him in his palace in the presence of his son, Montaser, with whom they were in league. Under Motasim the original Turkish body-guard of four thousand increased to seventy thousand. and their influence was augmented in proportion, Is was they who by their fiendish cruelty frightened him from Bagdad; a step which left them still more powerful, and the kalif was reduced to the condition of a puppet in their hands. It was because Motawakkel had endeavored to be independent of them, that he was thus taken off.

The night that Motawakkel was slaughtered, his son Montaser was proclaimed Kalif by the same Turks who had performed the like duty for the murdered ruler, and the first act of the young man was to endeavor to restrict the terrible power that he now so well knew. He endeavored also to counteract the effects of his father's hatred of the Alyites; he eagerly entered upon the work of rebuilding the tombs of Ali and Hosein; he reestablished pilgrimages; put an end to the persecutions of the partisans of the unfortunate descendants of the prophet; in all this probably trying to smother the upbraidings of his conscience, which constantly reminded him of the part he had taken in the murder of his father. Still, nothing gave him peace; he removed from the palace in which his father had lived,

in which he had been killed, in which, while the kalif's body remained unburied, he himself had been proclaimed sovereign; but a horrid melancholy dogged him everywhere; not even the debaucheries into which he plunged at Samarra could give him a peaceful stupidity, and after a dreary reign of five months he died, poisoned, as some assert, not without reason.

Montaser had intended to have his son take the throne after him, but the autocratic Turks did not agree with him, and it was given to a son of Motasim, who became kalif as Mostain in 862. He came to the throne in pursuance of a bargain with the chief of the Turks, Wassif, the one who had conspired with Montaser to murder Motawakkel, by the terms of which his own brothers were given up to the body-guard. The public had not at the time been sufficiently familiarized with such odious bargains not to be scandalized by this one. The reign of the new kalif was cursed by a succession of bloody quarrels growing out of the indignation of the people thus aroused against their ruler. Homs witnessed the first outburst; for some days the streets ran blood, and the strife was not quelled until the representative of the kalif there had been numbered among the killed.

War in Asia Minor now caused a brief intermission in the strife at home. There the Moslem governor of Melitene had in the previous year made a campaign across the country to the very shores of the Euxine, and had attacked the important town of Amissus, desolating the region wherever he went;

but his march proved too venturesome, and his army, set upon by the Greeks, was cut to pieces, and its leader himself killed. The impetuous conquerors did not rest until they had actually entered the borders of Mesopotamia. Opposing armies from the kalif were unable to cope with the enemy, and their commander returned to Constantinople to celebrate his victory in the circus. There was no enthusiasm for war left in the Saracens now; and the Turks, who alone were competent to meet these new enemies, were more interested in promoting their personal advancement than in looking after the public weal. Just at this juncture they were struggling to wrest power from some appointees of the kalif whom they did not approve. Thus the populace and the army found themselves at swords' points in the streets of Samarra, in a general scramble for spoils. Anarchy reigned supreme; massacre and pillage were the order of the day: buildings were given to the flames; a bridge over the Tigris was burned; and the carnage did not cease until there were no new victims for the sword.

The example of the kalif's capital proved contagious; the Alyites rose in 864, took possession of Kufa, and proclaimed another kalif: Tabaristan, to the west of Korassan, in modern times a hunting-ground of the Persian Shah, rebelled, and was forever lost to the kalifate; Homs revolted against its governor; and, to add to the confusion and the unutterable strife, the very Turks themselves became the prey of jealousies, and began to assassinate each other in the palaces of Bagdad; Mostain was soon

involved, and the insurgents proclaimed his cousin, Motaz, kalif in his stead; the capital was besieged by an army of fifty thousand men; and after sustaining the horrors of a siege, capitulated. The kalif was given an escort to Bassora; but on the way was put to death at Wasit (A.D. 866).

The new ruler repeated the experience of the old, with this exception, that matters grew worse, if possible, from year to year. Determined to free himself from the slavery to the Turkish body-guard that former kalifs had suffered, he found himself merely forced to increase their powers almost without limits; and finally the army, when the exhausted treasury proved too much depleted to meet the demand for their pay, revolted against its own leaders, gave the palaces up to pillage, and seized the Commander of the Faithful himself, tore his robes from him, thrust him out under a burning sun, forced him to renounce his authority, and then plunged him into a dungeon, where he was suffered to die of hunger and thirst (A.D. 869).

Thus the ground was cleared for the Turks again, and they promptly came forward with a son of Wathek, whom they set up as kalif under the title of Motadi, in 869. He came to the throne with a character that promised well for the future; but it was too late for one man, however influential, to stand against the terrible tide which was whirling the nation onwards to its destruction. He forbade all those infractions of the rules of the Koran that had been common for many years; wine was denounced; games of hazard were forbidden; the

musicians, dancers, and buffoons who infested the court were driven out; the primitive faith was re-established; justice was awarded by the kalif in person; and the finances of government were systematically ordered. It seemed as though the days of the early kalifs had returned. Alas, the turbulent king-makers of Turkestan could not be brought to act on such primitive principles as these; they knew and cared nothing for the prophet, and they revolted against the good rule of Motadi; Samarra was invaded, blood was shed, and the powerless ruler was called upon to abdicate. He stood up manfully against riot and misrule, but it availed nothing; he was ignominiously insulted and tortured. At last a poignard was driven to his heart, on the twenty-first of June, 870.

XL.

THE GRIP OF THE TURK TIGHTENS.

DISTANT Korassan now calls again for notice. We remember that during the reign of Mamun, Taher, the most popular as well as the most able of his generals, had established himself firmly in the affections of the people of that important region. His descendants had profited by his labors, and though they had nominally always been under the sway of the kalifs, they had really been carrying on a government of their own, their dynasty being known as that of the Taherites, or Taherians.

During the reign of Motawakkel there had arisen a family known as the Soffarides, Kettle-makers, or Braziers (soffar, a brazier), from the fact that it was founded by a man whose father had followed that useful trade, and who himself began life in that occupation. His name was Yakub, and he was noble, generous, and courageous. Quitting the trade of making and patching kettles, Yakub put himself at the head of a body of reckless men and determined to make his way in life by force of arms. Fighting was the noble occupation in those days, as it remained for ages after. Yakub managed (in 849) to take a portion of their dominions away from the

Taherites, was applauded for his skill by the people whom he conquered, and after a while was made their ruler. Thus the dynasty of Soffarides began. When the kalifs were in trouble, in the reign of Motaz, Yakub embraced the opportunity to wrench more of Korassan from the Taherites in 867, and then his sovereignty was acknowledged beyond the limits of his own stolen possessions. In 873 he snatched the remainder of the land from the Taherites, and thus put an end to that dynasty, which had been in existence for about fifty years.

It was while these events were occurring that the kalif Motadi was taken off by the assassin. Motamed was a ruler to whom the king-making Turks could have no objections; for he was a complete nullity, so far as exerting any considerable influence upon public affairs was concerned. He is represented as an amiable person, who enjoyed games and feasts, cultivated society, encouraged letters and literary men, and was instrumental in bringing to notice many essays upon the light topics enjoyed by fashionable society at his court. He allowed Yakub to wrench Korassan from the kalifate, never to be regained; but he sent a force against him when he found that he was threatening Bagdad. The armies met at a spot not far from Wasit, and Yakub was defeated. He died soon after; but his brother, Amr, became his successor, and he effected a treaty with Motamed by which he was acknowledged sovereign

COIN OF TULUN (A.D. 870).

of the provinces that Yakub had conquered.* Thus the kalif lost, and the Soffarides gained Seistan, Faristan, Korassan, and other provinces. Greater losses were to come.

We have to trace another disaster to the days of Mamun, those golden days when it seemed to the polite world as though the bright festivities of the sovereign's marriage were but a prophecy of more extravagant glories in the future, instead of the fateful forboding of an oncoming doom. An enfranchised slave named Tulun, had in that reign received some honorable commissions from the sovereign, which succeeding kalifs had continued, and when his son Ahmed, who was born in 835, came to a sufficient age, he was made governor of Egypt. He saw that the kalif was weak, and, like Yakub, thought that by a little warlike enterprise he might win power for himself and his descendants; and most men in those days were as desirous to make a good position for their children as they were to ensure their own fortune. From 873, when he took his government, he laid the plans for his undertaking, and in about three years he was prepared for the onset, for he had then made himself master of Egypt. He invaded Syria, took Damascus, Homs, Aleppo, Kinnesrin, Antioch, and was not stopped until he reached Tarsus; and then only because treason had been excited in his

* It happened that Amr was able also to relieve Motamed from the attacks of a rival kalif, Mohammed, son of Zeid, who had asserted his claims as a descendant of Ali. Mohammed was defeated, and fell into Amr's hands, and was sent to Motamed, either as an evidence of friendship, or as a threat that the kalif himself was not too strong to fear the Soffarides.

camp by the commander of the kalif's forces, his own brother, Mowafek, whom he designed to be his successor. Some of the cities he had conquered were taken back by Ahmed, but before he had accomplished his complete intentions death overtook him (about 883). The dismemberment of the kalifate did not stop, however, nor was the dynasty of the Tulunides broken off, for it held the captured territories a score of years more.*

Motamed died at Bagdad in the year 892, and his brother Mowafek just before him, so that the succession did not fall to him as Motamed had desired, but to Motaded, a son of Mowafek. This prince smiled upon the Alyites, and on that account has received slight justice from the historians of his country, because at that time, as well as at the present moment, the Alyites or Shias form but a small fraction of the followers of the prophet.† It was one of the principles of the prophet, as we know, to demand that all people should either acknowledge the faith he taught, or pay tribute to the treasury of the Saracens. Acting upon this custom, Motaded acknowledged the independence of the Tulunides, but only after he had secured a considerable tribute from them.

* All this time Kairwan, which had been founded about 670, was governed by a dynasty known as Aglabites, from Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, who had been appointed by Harun al Rashid about the year 800. Between the reigns of Wathek and Motamed, the Aglabites had attacked Italy (842), ravaged Rome (846), had lost most of what they had grasped in Italy (871), and had taken Syracuse (878). The dynasty was overthrown by Obeid Allah el Mehdi, A.D. 909.

† There are, it is computed, at present about one hundred and eighty million Moslems, and among them but ten millions are counted among the Alyites or Shias.

The constantly recurring outbursts of religious sectaries gave Motaded trouble, but he proved equal to them. A fanatic named Hamdan and surnamed Karmath had arisen, who had allied himself with the Ismalians (who under Babek made so much disturbance during the reigns of Mamun and Motasim), and had obtained a considerable following in the region about Kufa. He taught his disciples that they should practise entire community of goods, have no respect for revelation (excepting, probably, his own), and that they might consider themselves free from the duties of prayer and alms, as well as from all the ordinary considerations of humanity towards their enemies. These Karmathians, as they were called, had for many years desolated large tracts of country in Syria, Arabia, and even in Egypt, but Motaded arrested their destructive progress, and in 895 repaired some injuries that they had made in the mosque at Mecca, considerably improving it and enlarging its walls and enclosures.

Motaded found time also to look to the Soffarides, and remembering how they had conquered the rival kalif in Korassan, felt that they might some day try forces with him. He therefore entered into an alliance with Ismail Samana, a rising warrior who had begun to establish a monarchy in Transoxania, the region beyond the Oxus, with his capital at Bokhara. Ismail was exceedingly pleased to have such an opportunity for war with his rising neighbor and started very promptly towards Korassan with a sufficient army. Amr was sagacious enough not to wait for his coming, but crossed the border-line and

gave battle. Just at the critical moment, the steed on which Amr rode becoming excited, took the bit in his mouth and rushed into the enemy's lines, carrying his startled master with him. An accident so unexpected and ludicrous enabled the forces of Ismail to gain a speedy but rather inglorious victory (A.D. 898).

AN ARABIAN ENCAMPMENT.

The day of this victory, as Amr was sitting in his tent carefully guarded, it is said that he ordered one of his attendants to prepare some food. The only cooking utensil to be found was a bucket in which grain and water were given to the horses, and that was soon placed over a fire upon a crooked stick. It

had not been in position long when a hungry cur passed by, and eagerly thrust his head into the bucket to seize the meat that he saw, but drew it back again the moment he felt the heat. Alas, the sudden movement loosened the bucket from its wooden support, and the beast found it hanging to his head by its handle. As he ran away in fright, the general laughed so violently that his attendants were brought to his side in alarm. Amr said that it had just occurred to him that his commissary had in the morning thought a hundred camels hardly sufficient to convey the kitchen implements of the chief of the Soffarides; but that in the afternoon a single cur was able to carry away the only utensil that he could command.* The dynasty was extinguished at the death of Amr (A.D. 901), though he nominally left the government to his grandson, Taher ben Mohammed III.

The death of Amr, and the extinction of the Soffarides, did not bring peace; for Ismail, who had aided the kalif, saw the weakness of the Moslems, and determined to set himself up in opposition to them, as we shall soon see. Meantime, however, Motaded died, and left his throne to Moktafi, his son, in the year 902. Moktafi was a sovereign who, under different circumstances, might have added to the glories of the kalifate, but at this time every thing seemed to work against it. The kalif was obliged not only to keep his sword drawn against outside enemies, but his own dominions swarmed with parties of various minds, who were all desirous

* See Vámbéry's "History of Bokhara," page 63.

to pull down the supreme authority in the state in the wicked hope of dragging themselves up. Among the most determined intriguers were the Turkish body-guards, who were gaining greater and greater strength, and at last were to strangle the head of the state himself.

When Moktafi came into power he found that the domains of Ismail extended beyond the Gihon or the Oxus over Turkestan, and from the borders of Korassan to those of Kathay or China. When the Soffarides were put out of the way, he added Korassan to these vast regions, and grasped a considerable portion of Persia, and thus he established a new dynasty of opposing rulers known as the Samanades, who now took the place of the Soffarides as thorns in the kalif's side.* The Karmathians, too, were still able to do great damage to the kalifate, and it very soon became necessary to send forces to Syria to repress their bloody outbursts of murder and brigandage. The general who undertook this enterprise was at first beaten, but his organized troops afterwards overcame the fanatics; though he punished them so severely that their rage was kindled again, and burned more hotly than before. This time they directed their force against the Meccan caravans, and it is said

* Professor Vámbéry says that after the national existence of Irak "had been apparently blotted out by the unfortunate battle of Kadesia, and Persia had been overrun and devastated by the naked barbarians of the Arabian desert, some sparks of Persian civilization still smouldered beneath the desecrated altars," especially in Transoxania, in spite of the fact that Mohammedan-Persian habits of thoughts had held sway for two centuries and a half.—"History of Bokhara," page 67.

that twenty thousand pilgrims were massacred in the desert as they pursued their peaceable way towards the shrine of the prophet. In all of these attacks and reprisals the kalif could not claim that he was aggrieved, for the Karmathians did but little worse than the prophet himself had done, in sending expeditions against similar caravans, when the sword was first unsheathed. The attack of the Karmathians upon the caravans excited all Arabia, however, and by the power of a general outburst they were overwhelmed, and for a little time the distracted Moktafi had rest.

It did not occur to the kalif that peace was the natural condition of a kingdom, and as soon as he found himself relieved from the fanatics of the desert, he began a campaign against those Tulunides who had snatched his Egyptian possessions from him. In this effort he was successful, and the dynasty of the Tulunides was overthrown, all its princes were put to the sword, and the Egyptian provinces restored to the kalifate (about 907). At this happy juncture Moktafi died and the sceptre passed to his brother, Moktader, a boy of but thirteen years of age, in the year 908.

It was something new in the world of Islam to have a sovereign of such tender years on the throne, and the opportunity for a revolution was too tempting to be permitted to pass by without improvement. A strong party was very soon organized against the young prince, and its members took the oath of allegiance to Abdalla, son of Motaz. Abdalla sent an insulting order to Moktader to keep within the walls of his palace "with his mother and her maidens,"

and at the same time gave commands to the captain of his guards to seize the palace, not counting upon opposition; but he was mistaken. The attendants of the kalif prepared to resist any onslaught, and when the captain of Abdalla's guards came to enforce his orders, he was met with flights of arrows; a sharp skirmish followed; Abdalla took to his heels, but was overtaken and slain and his partisans disbanded.

Probably Abdalla was the better qualified of the two claimants to be ruler; he was of mature years, an author of repute, and a man of considerable wisdom and judgment. Moktader, on the other hand, was governed by his eunuchs and his wives, and gazed at the agony of his land as its calamities multiplied without the slightest sympathy or emotion. He was incapable of maintaining order in his kingdom, or even of controlling his own palace, and though he remained long on the throne, the record of his reign is crowded with accounts of the falling away from loyalty of cities and provinces, and the revolts of bold chiefs who made him tremble, in moments when he thought at all on the affairs of state. His use of public money was scandalous, even in those degenerate times; and it is said that he wasted a larger sum than the great Harun had been able to amass in his whole life!

During this reign (A.D. 909) there arose in Africa a family known in history as the Fatimites, who pretended to be descendants of Ali; though Moez, one of the kalifs of the line, when asked to what branch he belonged, once said, placing his hand upon his

drawn scimetar: "Here is the founder of my dynasty!" and throwing a handful of gold coins among his soldiers, exclaimed: "Here is my genealogical line!"*

It seems pretty certain that Mohammed declared to Ali, though it is not recorded in the Koran, that at some time in the future there was to rise a Mahdi, one directed by Allah, who should be in his line, destined to bring justice into the world,—a sort of savior. The name Mahdi came into history at about the year 685, in the reign of Abd el Melik, when Moktar made his desperate onslaught upon the kalif and met his overwhelming defeat. From that time, however, the idea of a coming Mahdi spread until it was well established in Persia, Africa, Turkey, Egypt, and in our own time in the Soudan, where it brought to the death Gordon, "that last hero of Puritan Christianity, that man who seems to have stepped from the pages of Milton into the jumble of the nineteenth century,"—that Gordon who appeared to his Berber murderers to be the Antichrist destined to be conquered by the promised Mahdi.† It was as a protest against the expectations of the Alyites that Mansur gave to his son the name Mehdi.

Obeidalla was the member of this family who gave a new impulse to its fanatic determination to

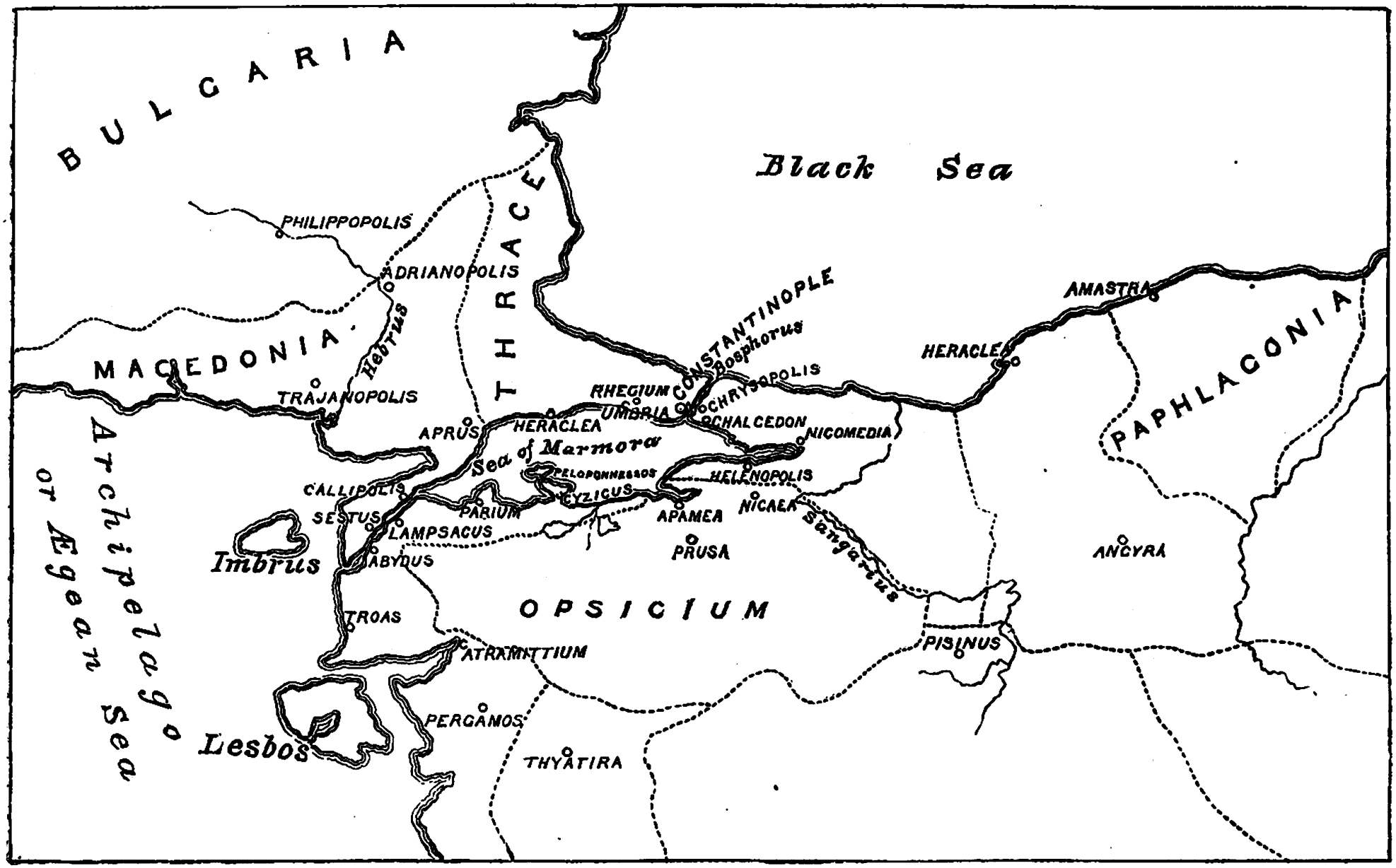
* This anecdote about Moez, and much more about the Fatimites, may be found in the Abbé Marigny's "Histoire des Révolutions de l'Empire des Arabes," vol. i., page 85.

† See, in connection with the whole subject of the Mahdi, that admirable monograph, "Le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam jusqu'à nos jours," par James Darmsteter, Paris, 1885.

win its rights as its members understood them. He announced again the prophecy that Mohammed was to be represented by a descendant who should arise within three centuries after his own death; and, assuming the title Mahdi, subdued the Aglabites and the other tribes which had revolted from the kalif, and soon became master of Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic. He founded a capital, Mahadi, on the site of a Roman town on the coast a hundred miles south of Tunis, not very far from Kairwan, which had then been held by the Aglabites for more than a century. Obeidalla ravaged the shores of Italy and Sicily with impunity, but in his attempts to invade Egypt, he did not succeed.

Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus, born in the purple), a young prince of six years, ascended the throne at Constantinople in the year 911, and his mother, Zoe, who was then living, exerted considerable influence over him. The armies of the empire were sent into Asia Minor, and there made many reprisals from the kalifate; at a later period, they ventured as far as Mesopotamia, and carried in safety a large number of captives to Constantinople. An invasion from Bulgaria gave Zoe so much solicitude, however, that she sent two ambassadors to the court of Moktader to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners.

The visitors from Constantinople brought many costly presents from their mistress, and the kalif determined to dazzle them by an exhibition of magnificence which he hoped would excel any thing they had ever seen. They were not permitted to visit



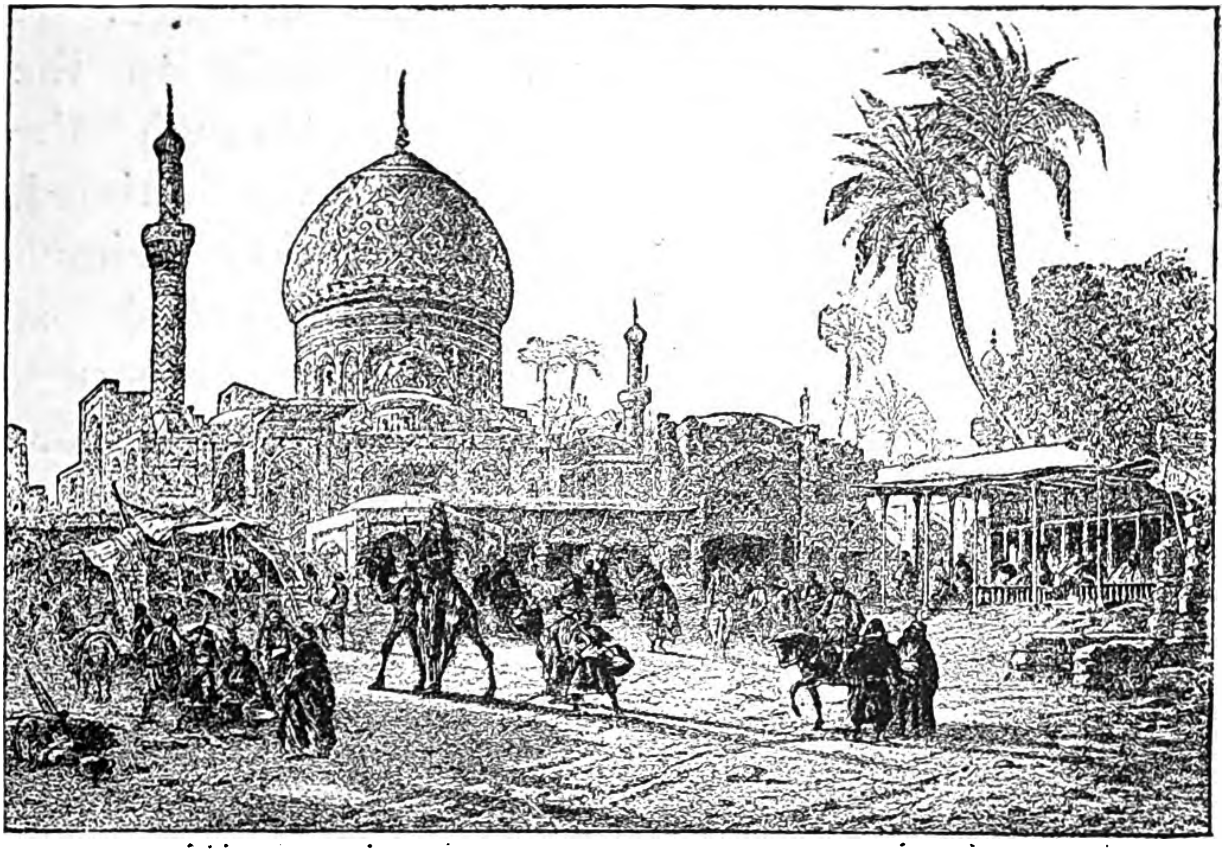
CONSTANTINOPLE AND REGIONS ABOUT.

him directly, but were received by his vizier, who gave them audience in a garden-palace. The avenues and courts were, we are told, thronged by pages and soldiers; the apartments were hung with tapestry of untold cost; and hosts of high officers surrounded the vizier, and stood at the right, at the left, and behind his seat, as the strangers approached and besought an interview with his master.

On the day appointed for the more important audience, the courts, passages, and avenues of the palace were filled with men in full armor; all the apartments were furnished with the most gorgeous art of the Oriental upholsterers; the approach to the palace was guarded by one hundred and sixty thousand soldiers standing in formal ranks; next to them were ranged seven thousand pages of the closets and chief eunuchs, four thousand being whites and three thousand blacks, arrayed in silk, their belts resplendent with jewels; seven hundred chamberlains were also displayed; and boats of many shapes and of the most gorgeous colors floated upon the waters of the Tigris hard by.

The two ambassadors were admitted first to the palace of the chief chamberlain, and, astonished at the magnificence that they saw, supposed that they were approaching the august presence of the Commander of the Faithful. When the royal palace was finally reached, the ambassadors beheld thirty-eight thousand pieces of silk brocade embroidered with gold, and twenty-two thousand magnificent carpets, hanging upon the walls. Two menageries of beasts wild by nature but tamed by art, wandered about

eating from the hands of their custodians, among them being a hundred lions, each with its keeper. From these beasts the ambassadors were led to the Palace of the Tree, in which was an artificial tree of eighteen branches, with leaves of varied colors, and birds of gold and silver of every variety and size perched upon its limbs, each of them ingeniously constructed to sing by means of machinery



VIEW OF A MOSQUE AT BAGDAD.

in their small bodies. They were next led through a passage, the walls of which were hung with ten thousand coats of mail, into a garden furnished with innumerable articles of great cost and rarity.

After such displays, they were brought into the presence of Moktader himself, who was discovered sitting on a couch of ebony inlaid with gold and silver, to the right of which hung nine necklaces set

with jewels that outshone the light of day. The ambassadors and their interpreter were not permitted to approach nearer than within nine hundred cubits of the kalif. When the interview was concluded, they were taken through the palaces and were shown elephants, a giraffe, lynxes, and other animals richly caparisoned; after which they were themselves clad in costly robes of honor, and were given presents of fifty thousand dirhems each. It should be said that they were brought to the palace at the hour of mid-day worship, through "the streets of the minarets," and their visit was so timed, that the muezzins chanted the call to prayer simultaneously, and with such effect that the earth almost quaked at the sound, and the strangers were struck with mortal fear. It is difficult to say how far from reality this extravagant description is, but that it gives some idea of the barbaric display of the court of the kalifs at the time, there can be but little doubt.*

The exhibition brought peace, but scarcely had it been effected when the terrible Karmathians burst forth again in Syria, and the faltering kalif proved utterly incompetent to make head against them.

* This account, which is to be found in a number of books on the subject, is taken from the great work of Abulfeda, the most celebrated Saracenic author, who was a native of Damascus, where he was born about 1273. His "Abridgment of the History of Mankind," covers the history of many Eastern nations, besides that of the Saracens from the birth of Mohammed to 1328, the date at which it was prepared, three years before the author's death. Abulfeda was a prince and warrior as well as an author, and was present at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, in 1281. For the period of the Crusades his history is valuable.

No person but one of the eunuchs of the court seemed to have presence of mind at the moment, and he, though a supporter of the sovereign, deposed him for his incapacity, and placed his brother Kaher on the throne at Bagdad. For three days Kaher enjoyed his exaltation, and then his fickle masters cast him down because forsooth he did not their desire for the bounties customary to be distributed among the soldiers at the accession of a kalif. The irons were broken from the limbs of Moktader, and he was replaced on the throne of Mohammed! At this juncture Mosul declared itself independent, and there was not force enough in the kalifate to restrain the city from breaking the slight bond that held it to its allegiance. Then, again, the Karmathians made a dash upon Mecca, and captured it, massacring many pilgrims as they had during the former kalifate; pillaging the Kaaba; carrying off the black stone, and leaving the well Zem-zem obstructed by heaps of dead bodies.

Encouraged by these disorders a soldier of fortune ventured a revolution in Persia, and re-ëstablished the worship of the magi in the region that he conquered. Bagdad was thrown in the utmost confusion by this irruption so near home, fearing that the days of Yacub, the coppersmith, were to be repeated; but the usurper took himself off in the direction of Tabaristan, and the city breathed more freely. The relief was but temporary, however, for an intrigue broke out in the palace, which led to the disgrace of that eunuch who had deposed Moktader, and he was so irritated that he raised an army and

laid siege to the capital, which at the time was the capital of only a small territory lying just about it. At the suggestion of his attendants, Moktader cast about him the cloak of the prophet and advanced upon the revolters accompanied by a number of councillors each carrying a copy of the Koran in his hand. Instead of respecting the sacred habit and the once honored volume, the besiegers forced the kalif and his companions to flight, and when at last he fell into their hands and demanded that they should respect the successor of Mohammed, they exclaimed, as they pierced him with their poignant swords: "We know thee well! thou art not the representative of the prophet, but of the devil!" Thus fell the kalif Moktader, and thus did the grip of the Turks tighten upon the weakening kalifate, in the year 932.

XLI.

THE FATAL BLOW.

HISTORIANS are agreed that the downfall of the kalifate was caused by the rivalries of opposing rulers, the growth of anarchical and destructive sects, the falling away from their allegiance of remote provinces, and the increasing power and ambition of the Turkish mercenaries, all of which are easily shown to date from the reigns of Mamun and Motasim.* The prophet had given his followers as their guide a book which contained many valuable counsels adapted to the conditions in which he found them; he had told them to go forth and conquer the earth to the religion of Islam; and they had followed his instructions; but their kingdom had grown to an extent of which Mohammed could scarely have dreamed; and had thus grown in a period of time so brief that no opportunity had been allowed the rulers to learn how to manage regions so extensive and people so diverse.

The Berbers of Africa; the barbarians of Turkestan; the lively Saracens of the Arabian deserts; the proud Syrians with their Biblical memories; the

* See Freeman's "Lectures on the Saracens"; Marigny's "Révolutions," vol. i., page xxxix.; and Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chapter lii.

rich and powerful Persians; the dwellers in Armenia and Mesopotamia; the Egyptians and the tribes on the borders of Kathay; the inhabitants of the peninsula of Spain;—all these were not to be moulded into a homogeneous nation under one religious faith in the short space of a single century.* Nor was it to be expected that a series of kalifs wielding absolute power, and using the sword and the art of the poisoner to uphold their authority, could endure for any considerable length of time without giving rise to jealousies and intrigues, especially in an Oriental land where cunning and deceit, duplicity and guile, were the usual principles of action in court circles.

We have seen that the later kalifs were incapable of performing properly the onerous duties of their positions, and that they were wont to call upon one strong neighbor to help them against another. We have seen a powerful ally become in turn an equally powerful antagonist, so soon as he had learned that the kalif depended upon him; and we know that faith was never kept with a sovereign when there seemed to be any thing to be gained by treachery. We have seen that weak and luxurious kalifs called to their counsels strong ministers who took advantage of their positions to overthrow the masters

* "The original legislation of Mohammed being made for the Arabs of the desert, it was necessarily narrow in its scope, and there is some difficulty in applying it to the wants of more developed and civilized communities. To accomplish this, it has been necessary to call in tradition, casuistry, and special pleading; but there are too few broad principles and too many practical applications and petty details in the Mussulman code to make casuistry an easy matter." Schuyler's "Turkistan," vol. i., page 171.

who trusted them. We have seen provinces fall away from their allegiance merely because they were so remote from the capital that there was no sense of dependance upon it, and no sympathy with its ruler. Thus, as the kalifate became rich, it became also weak; and as it grew feeble, it began to disintegrate. The process was not rapid at first, but every new symptom of dissolution begot another, until at last the entire system was honeycombed with political and religious rivalry and undermined by intrigues and deceit.

When the life of Moktader had fled from his pierced body, his fickle murderers turned to that brother whom they had before placed upon the throne and thrust from it, and a second time clothed him with the empty honors of the kalifate. With the usual cunning of his people, Kaher secretly determined to break the bonds that held him, and the only means that he knew by which he could make his seat on the throne secure were torture and imprisonment. He cast one nephew, who threatened to become a rival, into a dungeon, walled him up and left him to perish in slow torment. His own mother was tortured and put to death; certain of his generals were murdered merely because they seemed dangerous; and at last his soldiers, thinking that they had found a master instead of a slave, mutinied against him. They entered his palace at every gate, and forced him to flight. He was soon found and deposed (934), and his eyes were put out that he might not again trouble the masters of the state. An author says that as he was in the mosque some

time after this, he was approached by a man dressed in clothes which spoke of former wealth, who said: "Good gentleman, pray give me some alms: I was once your kalif, and now am your beggar!" Kaher subsequently died in misery. His reign lasted eighteen months.

During this brief reign a new dynasty from Persia began to promise trouble to the kalifate. It originated somewhat as follows: One Kabus, a ruler in the Caspian province of Gilan, came to the court of the Samanides, and found that military employment which was then so often used as a means of overturning kingdoms. He was entrusted with the government of the province of Dilem, in which he exhibited the qualities of a strong ruler, and established himself so completely that he was able to bequeath his throne there to his son Buya, from whom the dynasty of the Buvides (called also the Dilemites) is named (A.D. 933).

In the year 934 the princely king-makers of Bagdad went to the prisons and took out a nephew of the late kalif to put on the throne from which Kaher had just been cast down. He is known as Radi. He proved to be of a docile temperament, and looking back at the fate of his predecessors who had allowed their natural desire to be rulers, in reality as well as name, to influence them, determined to repress every rising ambition and manly feeling. To make his masters well-disposed towards him, he appointed one of them prince of princes, or autocrat, giving him such unlimited power as Fadhl had wielded in the reign of Mamun, and depriving him-

self of the right to influence the administration of government or to expend any of its treasure in an independent manner. The office of vizier became utterly unimportant in the presence of this mighty officer. This complete resignation accomplished its purpose, and Radi was allowed to give himself up to the enjoyment of a debased ease, and to an indulgence in pleasure which brought his miserable existence to a close in the year 940. In the midst of his pleasure-seeking, Radi found time to cultivate letters, and the following specimen is a translation by Professor Carlyle of one of his better poems:

COIN OF THE KALIF RADI.

"Mortal joys however pure,
Soon their turbid source betray;
Mortal bliss, however sure,
Soon must totter and decay.

"Ye who now with footsteps keen,
Range through hope's delusive field,
Tell us what the smiling scene
To your ardent grasp can yield.

"Other youths have oft before
Deemed their joys would never fade,
Till themselves were seen no more—
Swept into oblivion's shade.

"Who, with health and pleasure gay,
E'er his fragile state could know,
Were not age and pain to say—
Man is but the child of woe?"

His lighter style is seen in the following, addressed to a blushing woman :

" Leila, whene'er I gaze on thee
My altered cheek turns pale ;
While upon thine, sweet maid, I see
A deepening blush prevail.

" Leila, shall I the cause impart
Why such a change takes place ?—
The crimson stream deserts my heart
To mantle on thy face."

The Prince of Princes, with all his power, was not strong enough to hold back the kalifate from its destruction. The Karmathians raged more effectually than ever, and a shameful treaty was made with them as the only means of enabling pilgrims to approach the holy Kaaba ; governors revolted on the right hand and on the left ; Korassan, the Transoxanian possessions, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Africa,—all were torn away from the feeble kingdom, and the luxurious kalif was shut up with his haughty Prince of Princes in the city of Bagdad. The capital itself became the scene of frightful anarchy, and when its magnificence had been well-nigh destroyed by the oppression and misrule of the masterful Turks, the citizens called upon the adventurer then representing the Buvides to come and rule over them. He came, and found it not necessary to fight a battle : the city fell into his hands in the year 945, and for a century and more it was under the control of the new dynasty. The kalif had renounced all temporal power, and remained simply the spiritual head of the Moslem church.

Meantime the miserable existence of Radi had come to an end in the year 940, and with him terminated the rule of the kalifs; for though a line was continued for three centuries longer, it was composed of rulers still more under the control of the Turkish guards than he. Radi was the last of the kalifs who in any measure sustained the ancient character of the sovereigns of his line. Never after his time did a kalif write poems that were collected into a volume; no longer did a kalif publicly harangue the faithful of a Friday in the mosque; nor did another hold train and table after the olden style of magnificence; no other one disposed the armies and the finances after his own will; nor even held familiar companionship with his friends, for all power was henceforth lodged in the hands of the Prince of Princes, and of the ministers who gave that officer his supremacy. The vizier, like the kalif, was emptied of political influence, and the Prince of Princes usurped an authority not unlike that possessed in Rome by the Prætorian Guards, in France by the *Maires du Palais*, and in Constantinople for five hundred years by the terrible Janizaries.* The foreign masters, as

* The Janizaries, organized first in 1329, were not disbanded until 1826. They passed through the same stages that we have marked in the history of the Turkish body-guards. At first they numbered but one thousand; in 1362 there were ten thousand of them; in three centuries they had immensely increased, and in time they became the real masters of the empire, deposing and executing the sultans at will. They were the terror of the world. The Prætorians, organized by Scipio Africanus, were also at first few in number; but Augustus made them a permanent body of ten thousand (B.C. 27), and their power increased so much that they put up the imperial crown at auction, A.D. 193. The body was not disbanded until A.D. 312.

they followed one after another, kept up the form of supporting a kalif, though they thus forced him to be a helpless puppet in their hands.

The city of Bagdad was itself overthrown in the year 1258, but between the death of Radi and that date, two dynasties had been established upon the ruins of the kalifate, while a third had temporarily interjected itself between them. The rule of the Buvides came to an end, as we shall see, in 1050, when the Turkish dynasty of the Seljuks was established at Bagdad.

GOLD COINS OF FATIMITE KALIFS. (A.D. 1050 AND 1072.)

The sympathies of the Buvides were Alyite, the sixteen sovereigns who composed the line claiming descent from the husband of Fatima; they ruled one hundred and twenty-seven years, during all but nine of which they were sovereigns of the kalifs. The Fatimites made themselves masters of Africa and Egypt (953–972), and built the city of Cairo (970). During the same period the Gaznivide dynasty, originating, in 961, in the strongly fortified town of Gazni, in Afghanistan, on the confines of Korassan, conquered a region extending from the Ganges to the Tigris, and from the Oxus to the Indian Ocean,

It reached its climax in 1032, and ended in 1133. In the period of its glory, Mahmud, sultan of Gazni (997–1032), astonished all Asia by his conquests; twelve times he invaded India, and every time he brought away vast amounts of spoils to enrich his capital. It is related that he took as much pleasure in propagating Islam as in adding to his military glory, though it must be confessed that he was a bloody apostle, following the example of the prophet after he had drawn the sword, rather than imitating his peaceful earlier days. He encouraged commerce, however, and patronized letters, and it was during his long reign of forty-two years that the greatest poet of Persia flourished, Abul Casem Mansur, better known as Ferdusi (the Paradisic), who had been compared to Homer for his fecundity, genius, and imagination.

It is said by the Abbé de Marigny that when the courtiers of Mahmud were assured that death was about to snatch him from his kingdom, they ordered brought into his presence all the precious stones, vessels of gold and silver and chests of gold that he had acquired in his wars, hoping in that way to amuse his closing moments. For an entire day the procession of riches was kept passing by the royal invalid, and when all was over, he exclaimed: "What cruel fatigues, what perils, what torments of body and mind has it not cost me to make these gains! How uncertain such riches are! How much trouble and fear is endured in keeping them! Behold the climax of all these evils is found in the last and greatest of them—the owner must part with them when he parts

with life!" With such words, Mahmud breathed his last in a palace adorned with all the magnificence that Oriental art, aided by unlimited wealth, could furnish,—amid walls adorned with marble and gold and precious stones, which he had named with unintentional sarcasm, Felicity.*

As the Gaznivide dynasty receded from its greatest power, the teeming north was preparing to send another horde of strong barbarians down upon the still weakening Saracens. In Turkestan there lived and fed their numerous flocks a family of four brothers descended from one Seljuk, who again traced his line far back into the darker ages of his dark land.† Year by year the flocks of the brothers increased, and they sought new friends as they added to their riches, in order to make themselves strong in the land. After a time pasturage failed for their immense herds, and they looked for new forage-ground in the regions beyond the Oxus and to the south of their original home.

Not long after the Gaznivides had established their dynasty, these northerners, who called themselves, after their father, Seljuks, found themselves in the region of Bokhara and Samarkand looking over into the lands of their rising neighbors. They asked and finally obtained permission to enter Korassan, and it was not long before the subjects of the Gaznivides were heard complaining that they were constantly

* Mahmud built at Gazni a grand mosque, a museum of natural history filled with wonderful specimens, and a library. He is reputed the first Moslem monarch who took the title sultan, and he was the first Moslem emperor of India.

† See Vámbéry's "History of Bokhara," chapter vi.

vexed by their new neighbors, and they were forced to send troops against the intruders whom they had permitted to approach so close to them. The Turks had learned war from their able father, and though they were often attacked, they always overcame the Gaznivides; as the invaders from the north have so often defeated the southerners in this history. This it was that undermined and weakened the powerful dynasty, so that after making themselves masters of Korassan (about 1040) and taking Ispahan from the Buvides in 1051, their leader, Togrul Beg, entered Bagdad in 1055, delivered the kalif from the tyranny of the Buvides, and made himself Prince of Princes. Thus again the kalif exchanged the tyranny of one foreigner for that of another.

The second ruler of the Seljuk dynasty embraced Islam, and extended his dominions greatly; the third captured Jerusalem, and insulted and oppressed pilgrims from Christian lands so grievously as to give rise to the Crusades. After his death the power of the dynasty became less, though it did not finally succumb until 1299, and then the Turkish empire rose from its ruins. During the reign of the third Prince, Melek Shah (1073–1093), the Assassins,* a branch of the Ismailians, came into

* When Benjamin of Tudela, the intelligent Jewish traveller from Navarre, reached Jebilee in 1163, he wrote: "In this vicinity live the people called Assassins, who do not believe in the tenets of Mohammedanism, but in those of one whom they consider like unto the prophet Karmath. They fulfil whatever he commands them, whether it be a matter of life or death. He goes by the name of Sheikh-al-Hashishim, or 'Their Old Man,' by whose command all the acts of these mountaineers are regulated. His residence is in

prominence in the person of their chief, Hasan, a man of Persian descent, known in history as "The Old Man of the Mountains." This order became extensive and powerful, and acting in secret, was difficult to be met and defeated in its nefarious schemes. It finally came to an end at the same time that Bagdad fell (1258). During their career, the Assassins murdered kalifs and other eminent men, both Moslems and Christians; they captured strong castles, and ravaged extensive regions; without moral restraints, they fortified themselves for their atrocious work by putting their bodies under the intoxicating influence of hashish (whence, probably, their name, Hashishim — Assassins); they studied a catechism in which they were taught the most successful means of worming themselves into the confidence of their unsuspecting victims, in order to thrust their cruel daggers more surely into their hearts. With fifty thousand men at their command, the Assassins became terrible to the Crusaders, as well as to the Persians and the Saracens; but their order contained in itself the germs of disintegration from the operation of which they would have fallen had they not been overcome by the Mongols.

On account of the restlessness of their own rulers, the Seljuks did not reign free from embarrassment. Soon after the year 1100, there was born in Armenia, or Western Persia, a man known as Ayub, or Job,

the city of Kadmus, the Kedemoth of Scripture, in the land of Sichon" [Joshua xiii: 18]. Wright, "Early Travels in Palestine" (Bohn), page 78. Baudier gives a glowing account of the earthly paradise in which Hashishim was said to live.

and surnamed "The Star of Religion," who became the father of a son called in history Saladin, one of the most interesting heroes of Saracenic annals. Ayub had been governor under the Seljuks, in his native town on the Tigris, but entered the service of a Syrian princé, and from that region his son, who became the beau-ideal of Saracenic chivalry, went to Egypt, where in a short time he rose to influence, and finally established himself as ruler of that country, as well as of Syria, Assyria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. In 1193 he died, but he left a record as an intelligent sovereign, even his enemies attributing to him the noblest qualities of courage, moderation, greatness of soul, and justice, while for centuries evidences of his wise administration remained in the form of fortresses, roads, dikes, and canals that he had built.

It was during the kalifate of Mostanjed, in 1164, that Benjamin of Tudela visited Bagdad. There were frightful disorders in Persia at the time; the governors, unfaithful to their allegiance, were assuming independence and quarrelling among themselves for supremacy. The empire of the Seljuks had been divided into four parts at the death of Melek Shah, each ruled by a sovereign calling himself sultan; disorders had followed that event; and the dynasty of the Fatimites was about to be brought to an end in Egypt.*

Benjamin of Tudela gives us a glimpse of the capital of the kalifate in the days of its decline. He says that the kalif enjoyed the same supremacy

* The Fatimites were overthrown by Saladin in 1171.

over all Mohammedan kings that the Pope then held over Christian potentates, though this was, of course, merely a formal supremacy. The palace of the kalif was three miles in extent (or the grounds, rather), containing a park filled with all kinds of trees and all sorts of beasts. A pond was supplied with water from the Tigris; and whenever the kalif wished to sport and carouse, birds, beasts, and fishes were prepared for him and for his invited guests. He was very friendly towards the Jews, Benjamin is careful to say, understood all languages, was well-versed in the Hebrew law, and could read and write the Hebrew tongue. He enjoyed nothing that he did not earn with his own hands, and therefore made articles that were sold to his nobles. He is represented as an excellent and kind-hearted ruler, though invisible to his subjects, even refusing to be seen by the pilgrims who passed through Bagdad on their way to Mecca. He was wont to respond to petitions from the faithful who wished to see his face, by putting one corner of his garment out of a window and permitting them to kiss it, which the pilgrims did with eagerness. The palace is represented to comprise large buildings with pillars of gold and silver, and hoards of precious stones.

Once a year, during the month Ramadan, the kalif was accustomed to leave his palace, and allow his visitors, as well as his subjects, to behold his countenance. Then, bestriding the royal mule, and dressed in his official robes of gold and silver cloth, his head ornamented with a turban adorned with

stones of inestimable value, and covered with a veil, betokening humility, he went in procession from the palace to the mosque, accompanied by a retinue of nobles from Arabia, Media, even from Tibet, likewise adorned with gorgeous dresses. All who followed were dressed in silk and purple; the streets were made lively by singing and rejoicing; and the people cried aloud, "Blessed art thou, our lord and sovereign!" This compliment was duly acknowledged, and the kalif entered the mosque, where he mounted a wooden pulpit, and expounded the law, after which he pronounced a blessing and sacrificed a camel, distributing it to the nobles, all of whom were eager to taste the meat prepared thus by the hands of their king. The kalif returned to his palace by a different way, and the path by which he went was carefully guarded, so that no one should tread in his footsteps. He seems to have been particularly careful for the health of his people, and had provided sixty medical warehouses, where patients were assisted and fed until cured of their diseases. Besides this, he had a large asylum for maniacs, where they were chained and cared for, examinations at regular periods being made to determine who, if any, had been restored to their reason, all of which was done out of pure piety and love of humanity. Bagdad itself is represented as surrounded by gardens and orchards, being rich in palm-trees, and not equalled by any city in Mesopotamia. Not only did merchants resort thither from all countries for purposes of trade, but wise philosophers were encouraged, and there were many scientific men, as well as magicians skilled in enchantments.*

* Wright: "Early Travels in Palestine" (Bohn), page 95.

At the very time that Benjamin of Tudela was thus describing the great city of Bagdad, if the chronology be correct, there was born in distant Tartary (properly Tatary, for the name has no relation to the Latin Tartarus) a man who was destined to overthrow kalif and palace, Bagdad and the whole Saracenic rule. Jengis Khan (his name is spelled in a score of different ways) was a native of the most remote of those unknown regions which had repeatedly poured their fierce hordes down upon the dominions of the kalifs, and opened his eyes to the light of day at about the year 1164, in the rough region north of the great wall of China, where his father was a ruler.* Jengis was left an orphan at an early age, but he assumed the reins of government, and by the year 1203 had become the most powerful of the khans in the region. Then at a general gathering of deputies from the different Tartar tribes that he had subjugated, he was confirmed as "Jengis" Khan, or greatest of khans, one of the attendant priests declaring that he was destined to become ruler of the whole earth. A few years after this he ventured to invade China, scaling that great wall which for fourteen hundred years had proved a sufficient barrier against the northern enemies, and then Pekin fell into his hands.

Gradually Jengis gained upon the strong Seljuks, took Bokhara and Samarkand, and extended his do-

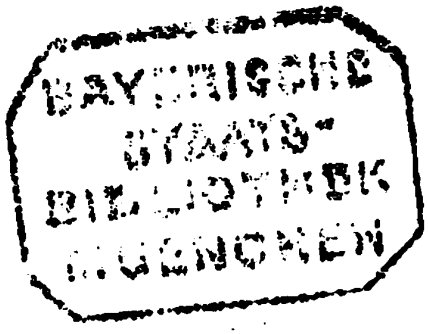
* The astrologers of Islam had predicted that a fearful windstorm should come from the East in 1154, and as no such storm came it was said that Jengis Kahn was meant.—Vámbéry's "History of Bokhara," page 119.

minion from the Sihon to the Persian Gulf (about 1220). In 1227, when preparing for other invasions, Jengis died, and his bloody sceptre was passed over to his son. He had, it is said, by his wars and massacres caused the death of five or six millions of his fellow-beings, but there has been traced a civilizing tendency in his laws and in the administration of his vast realm. The sons and grandsons of Jengis continued his successful career, and extended their dominions from the sea-board of China through Russia to the borders of Germany and Poland. His grandson Hulaku, who was the first sultan of Persia, overthrew the terrible Assassins, and captured Bagdad, putting the kalif Motasim to death, and with him sacrificing, according to the exaggerated accounts long believed, sixteen hundred thousand citizens of the great capital! The kalifate thus ended as a temporal kingdom, though one of the uncles of Motasim found an asylum in Egypt in 1261, and established a spiritual power that endured until 1577.

Thus, amid the groans of dying thousands, and the wild exultations of a horde of victorious Tartars and Monguls, the kalifate that had created Bagdad, and for five hundred years had made it a magnificent centre of art, science, and letters, was forever extinguished; but Islam did not die.

One hundred and eighty millions of human beings still profess to follow the teachings of the prophet; five times a day they spread their mats and turn their faces towards the spot made sacred to them by

his birth, and utter the prayers he taught; daily the voice of the muezzin is heard from thousands of minarets boldly calling the faithful from contemplation of this world to thoughts of the next; and yearly, as the month Moharrem goes by, devoted millions express their sorrow for the pains of the "martyr" of Kerbala, and work themselves to such a pitch of enthusiasm that the power of their rulers trembles before them.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NÖLDEKE'S ORDER OF THE SURAS OF THE KORAN.

Revealed at Mecca. (*Years one to five of Mohammed's mission.*)

96. The Thickened Blood. The Prophet's First Call to Cry.
74. The Covered.
111. Abu Laheb.
106. The Koreishites.
103. Al Kawthar.
104. The Slanderer.
107. The Succoring Hand.
102. The Love of Gain.
105. The Elephant.
92. The Night.
90. The Land.
94. The Expanding.
93. The Forenoon.
97. Al Kadar. (The Night of Power.)
86. The Nocturnal Star.
91. The Sun.
80. He Frowned.
68. The Pen.
87. The Most High.
95. The Fig-Tree.
103. The Afternoon.
85. The Celestial Signs.
73. The Wrapped Up.
101. The Smiting.
99. The Earthquake.
82. The Cleaving Asunder.
81. The Folding Up.
53. The Star.
84. The Rending in Sunder.
100. The Coursers.
79. Those Who Tear Forth.
77. Those Who are Sent.
78. The Important News.
88. The Overwhelming.
89. The Daybreak.
75. The Resurrection.
83. The Unjust Measure.
69. The Inevitable Day.
51. The Dispersing.
52. The Mountain.
56. The Judgment.
70. The Ascent.
55. The Merciful.
112. The Declaration of the Unity of Allah.
109. The Misbelievers.
113. The Daybreak.
114. Men.
1. Prayer for Guidance.

Revealed at Mecca. (*Years five and six.*)

54. The Moon.
37. The Classes.
71. Noah.
76. Man.
44. Smoke.
50. K.
20. T. H.
26. The Poets.
15. Al Hejr.
19. Mary.
38. S.
36. I. S.
43. The Ornaments of Gold.
72. The Jinns.
67. The Kingdom.

23. The True Believers.
21. The Prophets.
25. Discrimination. Al Forkan. (The Koran.)
17. The Night Journey.
27. The Ant.
18. The Cave.

Revealed at Mecca between the seventh Year and the Hejra.

32. Adoration.
41. The Explanation.
45. The Kneeling.
16. The Bee.
30. The Greeks.
11. Hud.
14. Abraham.
12. Joseph.
40. The True Believer.
28. The Story.
39. The Troops.
29. The Spider.
31. Lokman.
42. The Council.
10. Jonah.
34. Saba.
35. The Angels, or the Creator.
7. Al Araf.
46. Al Ahkaf.
6. Cattle.
13. Thunder.

Revealed at Medina.

2. The Heifer.
98. The Manifest Sign.
64. Mutual Deceit.
62. The Assembly. (Friday.)
8. The Spoils.
47. Mohammed. (The Battle.)
3. The Family of Imram.
61. Battle Array.
57. Iron.
4. Women.
65. Divorce.
59. The Emigration.
33. The Confederates.
63. The Hypocrites.
24. Light.
58. She Who Disputed.
22. The Pilgrimage.
48. The Victory.
66. Prohibition.
60. She Who is Tried.
110. Assistance.
49. The Sanctuary.
9. The Declaration of Immunity.
5. The Table.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D. 565–1261.

A.H.	A.D.		A.D.	
		The Times of Ignorance. Abraha invades Hejaz.		
			565	Justinus II. ascends the throne of the Eastern Empire.
	571	Mohammed born (April 20th).		
	572	Chosroes Parvis wars with Justinus II.		
			576	War with the Persians. Chosroes defeated at Melitene.
			578	Tiberius II.
	580	Turks attempt to seize Persia.		
			582	Mauricius.
	590	Chosroes seeks asylum at Constantinople.		
		Sacrilegious war (580–590).		
	595	Mohammed marries Kadija.		
			602	Phocas (a centurion) murders Mauricius and makes himself emperor.
	603	Chosroes invades the Roman Empire.		
	610	Mohammed begins his prophetic career.	610	Heraclius comes from Africa and seizes the sceptre.
	613	Mohammed opposed by the Koreishites.		
	615	The emigration to Abyssinia.	615	Jerusalem pillaged by Chosroes II.
	617	Mohammed under the ban–to 620		
	619	Kadija dies.		
	620	Abu Talib dies.		
		Mohammed visits Taif.		
1	622	Mohammed leaves Mecca.	622	Chosroes II. defeated among the Taurus Mountains.
2	623	Abu Sofian defeated at Bedr.		
3	624	Battle of Ohud ; Mohammed defeated.		
		Marriage of Ali and Fatima.		
6	627	Battle of the Ditch.		
			627	Persia overcome by Heraclius. Battle near Nineveh.
			629	Heraclius at Jerusalem.
				Saracens begin warfare with the empire.
9	630	Mecca overcome.		
		Battle of Muta goes against Islam.		
		False prophets arise.		
		Taif beseiged and taken.		

A.H.	A.D.		A.D.	
11	632	Mohammed's farewell pilgrimage.		
		Mohammed's death (June 8th).		
	632	Abu Bekr chosen kalif.		
		Osama's expedition to Palestine.		
12	633	Muselima defeated at the battle of the Garden of Death.		
		Kalid in Irak. Battle of the River of Blood.		
13	634	Battle of Wacusa on the Yermuk.		
		Omar I. chosen kalif.		
14	635	Battle of Boweib.		
		Battle of Kadesia.		
		Damascus taken.		
15	636	Jerusalem captured. Kinnesrin taken.		
17	638	Kufa and Bassora founded.		
18	639	The Year of Ashes.		
20	641	Egypt conquered. Fostat founded.	641	Heracleonas—exiled. Constans II.
21	642	Battle of Nevahend. Persia conquered.		
23	644	Othman. Factions at Kufa and Bassora.		
26	647	Conquests in Africa.		
35	655	Conference of governors at Medina.		
		Medina attacked.		
		Ali chosen kalif.		
36	656	Battle of the camel.		
37	657	Karejites rebel after the battle of Siffin.		
37	658	Karejites defeated by Nehrwan.		
38	658	Egypt revolts and is lost.		
40	661	Hasan becomes kalif, after Ali's assassination.		
41	661	Moawia I. Omiades at Damascus.		
			668	Constantine III.
50	670	Siege of Constantinople. (Peace 678).	670	Saracens besiege Constantinople, yearly until 678.
56	676	Yezid declared heir-apparent.		
61	680	Yezid kalif. Tragedy at Kerbala.		
64	683	Moawia II.		
64	684	Merwan I.		
		Abdalla, son of Zobeir, claims the kalifate.		
65	685	The kaaba rebuilt.		
		Rebellion of Moktar in Irak.		
		Abd el Melik kalif.		
			685	Justinian II. (dethroned later).
73	692	Hejaj besieges Mecca. Abdalla killed.		
		Conquests in Africa.		
			695	Leontius.
			698	Tiberius III. Aspimar.
86	705	Walid I. Transoxania conquered.	705	Justinian II. (restored).

A.H.	A.D.	
91	711	Spain invaded at Gibraltar by Tarik.
96	715	Soliman.
97	716	Second seige of Constantinople.
99	717	Omar II.
101	720	Yezid II.
105	724	Hisham.
114	732	Battle of Tours. Charles Martel repels the Saracens.
125	743	Walid II.
126	744	Yezid III.
126	744	Ibrahim.
127	744	Merwan II. Last of Omiades.
132	750	Battle of the Zab.
132	750	Abul Abbas. Abbassides at Bagdad.
136	754	Mansur.
138	755	Abd er Rahman in Spain.
158	775	Mehdi.
169	785	Hedi.
170	786	Harun al Rashid.
181	797	The Aglabites in Kairwan, 800–909.
193	809	Amin.
198	813	Mamun.
204	820	The Taherians, 818–902.
218	833	Motasim.
226	841	Rise of the Turkish body-guard.
227	842	Wathek.
232	847	Motawakkel.
247	861	Montaser. Increase of the power of Turkish body-guards (861–945).
248	862	Mostain.
252	866	Motaz.

A.D.	
711	Philippicus Bardanes.
713	Anastasius II.
716	Theodosius III. Siege of Constantinople by the Saracens.
718	Leo III., the Isaurian. (Iconoclastic controversy begins.) Image-worship forbidden. Saracens repulsed.
726	War with the Saracens in Pontus and Cappadocia.
739	Saracens invade the empire with three armies.
740	Great earthquake devastates parts of the empire.
741	Constantine IV. (Copronymus.)
752	Pepin in France.
755	Temporal power of the popes began.
775	Leo IV. The Iconoclast.
780	Constantine V. and Irene. (Irene unpopular.)
790	Constantine V. alone.
797	Irene alone, (deposed and slain).
800	Charlemagne emperor. Egbert in England.
802	Nicephorus I. (Slain.)
811	Staurachius reigns a few days.
811	Michael I.
813	Leo V. (killed in temple).
820	Michael II., the Stammerer.
829	Theophilus, son of Michael.
842	Michael III., Porphyrogenitus.
867	Basilius I., the Macedonian.

A.H.	A.D.		A.D.	
255	869	Motadi.		
256	870	Motamed.		
			872	Alfred the Great in Britain.
265	879	The twelfth Imam (Alyite) disappears.		
		The Soffarides, 872–901.		
			886	Leo VI., the Philosopher.
279	892	Motaded.		
		The Samanides, 901–999.		
289	902	Moktafi.		
295	908	Moktader.		
		The Fatimites (or Ismailians) in Africa, 909-1171.		
			911	Alexander and Constantine VI.
			912	Constantine VI., Porphyrogenitus. Zoe regent.
			919	Romanus I.
			920	Christopher.
			928	Stephen and Constantine VII. (Five emperors at once.)
			931	Christopher dies. [Romanus exiled by his sons, Constantine and Stephen who are banished.]
320	932	Kaher.		
		The Buvides (or Dilemites), 933–1056.		
322	934	Radi.		
325	937	The Emirs al Omra (Princes of Princes) founded.		
329	940	Motaki.		
333	944	Mostakfi.		
334	945	Moti.		
			945	Constantine VII. alone.
			959	Romanus II. (Monster). (Theophania, his wife.)
			963	Nicephorus II. marries Theophania, who had him assassinated.
356	967	The Fatimites in Egypt.		
358	969	Fatimites conquer Palestine.		
			973	John I.
363	974	Tai.		
		The Seljuks, 974–1288.		
			976	Basil II. and Constantine VIII.
			987	Hugh Capet in France.
379	989	Truce of God originated at Charroux.		
381	991	Kader.		
		Christians persecuted at Jerusalem, 996–1021.		
		The Gaznevides, 994-1160.		
			1001	Mahmud of Gazni invades India.
406	1016	Truce of God adopted by Council of Orleans.		
			1017	Cnut in Britain.
			1025	Constantine VIII. alone.
			1028	Romanus III. (Poisoned by Zoe, his wife.)
422	1031	Kaim. End of the Omiades in Spain.		
		Truce of God generally adopted, 1033.		

A.H.	A.D.	
446	1055	Togrul Beg at Bagdad.
455	1063	Alf Arslan, sultan of the Seljuks.
467	1075	Moktadi. Seljuks at Rome.
480	1087	The Almoravides in Spain.
487	1094	Mostader.
488	1095	First crusade proclaimed at Council of Clermont.
492	1099	Jerusalem taken.
512	1118	Mostarshed.
529	1134	Rashid.
529	1135	Moktafi II.
539	1145	Second crusade proclaimed.
540	1146	The Almoades in Spain.
555	1160	Mostanjed.
566	1170	Mostadi
567	1171	Saladin overthrows the Fatimites.
574	1178	Hasan, head of the Assassins.
575	1179	Nasir.
583	1187	Saladin conquers Palestine.
	1200	Rise of the Monguls, (called Moguls in India).
599	1203	Constantinople stormed and pillaged.
602	1206	Jengis Khan (1206–1227).
619	1222	Monguls invade Persia.
622	1225	Zahir.
623	1226	Mostanser.
630	1233	Origin of the kingdom of Granada.
638	1240	Rise of the Ottoman Turks.
640	1243	Mostasem.
656	1258	Bagdad falls.

A.D.	
1034	Michael IV.
1041	Michael V.
1042	Constantine IX.
1054	Theodora.
1056	Michael VI.
1057	Isaac I. (Comnenus.)
1059	Constantine X.
1066	William the Norman in England.
1067	Eudosia.
1071	Michael VII.
1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) pope.
1078	Nicephorus III.
1081	Alexius I.
1090	Passion for pilgrimages at its height in Europe.
1118	John Comnenus.
1143	Manuel I. (Comnenus).
1180	Alexius II.
1183	Andronicus I.
1185	Isaac II. (Angelus).
1189	Richard I. in England.
1195	Alexius III.
1203	Isaac II., Latin Emperor.
1204	Baldwin I.
1206	Henry I.
1216	Peter de Courtenay.
1219	Robert de Courtenay (crowned 1221).
1228	Baldwin II.
1261	Constantinople recovered from the Latins by the Greek emperors.

LIST OF BOOKS

Used in preparing the Story of the Saracens; together with the titles of others of value to the student of the subject.

THE general outline, by Professor Freeman, the more special essay of Deutsch (on Islam), the valuable papers by Wellhausen, Guyard, and Nöldeke, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, the chapters of Gibbon, or the article by Guyard in the "Encyclopèdie des Sciences Religieuses," will give the reader a good point of departure, from which he can proceed through the smaller volume of Muir and the sketch of Bosworth-Smith to the more exhaustive works of Caussin de Perceval, Sprenger, Weil, Muir, Müller, and others.*

Opinion on Mohammed and Islam has passed through marked changes since the present century opened, and any investigator will find it advisable to read books presenting directly opposite views; and probably each student will formulate opinions differing from all who have gone before him, since the last word has not yet been said on the subject.

* Of encyclopædias, the reader will find that of Chambers among the most thorough in its treatment of Islam and the Saracens. Poole's "Index to Periodical Literature" gives many valuable references under the titles Arabia, Arabian Language and Literature, Arabs, Mohammed, Mohammedanism, Moors, Persia, Saracens, Spain, etc.

The history of the religion of Islam, which, from the nature of the case, has been but incidentally discussed in this volume, may be followed in all its interesting details in the books mentioned below. The variety of the list is considerable, both as to literary and historical merit. This is intentional. Some of the most valuable works are to be found in the large libraries only, while others of less merit may be had more conveniently. A book in hand though known to be not the best, is more useful than a better one that cannot be obtained.

The author desires to express his great obligations to the custodians of the Library of Harvard University, of the Boston Public Library, of the Library of Yale College, and of the Astor Library, New York, for many favors received in the investigation of authorities. The volumes which he has not been able to consult are indicated by being included between brackets.

The orthography adopted by the authors of the following works is wonderfully various, owing to the fact that it is impossible to express the sounds of the Oriental words in Occidental letters which have no uniform values. Important information on this subject is given in an essay in the introduction to Lippincott's "Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary," page 17.

For versions of the Koran, see Lane, Lane-Poole, Kazimirski, Muir, Palmer, Rodwell, and Sale.

Abulfeda. Annales Muslemici, in Arabic and Latin. Translated by Johann Jakob Reiske, and edited by Jakob Georg Christian Adler. Copenhagen, 1789-1794. Five volumes, quarto.

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[—— La vie de Mahomet, with the Arabian text. Translated by Desvergers into French. Octavo. 1837.]

Addison, Lancelot. The first state of Mahumedism; or, An account of the author and doctrine of that imposture. London, 1679. The father of the essayist, Joseph Addison, resided for some years at Tangier, and formed his opinion regarding the prophet there. He speaks of Mohammed as one "with whose cursed doctrine the greatest part of mankind is at this very day so egregiously befooled." The curious volume is a good expression of the views of Mohammed current two hundred years ago, in the reign of Charles II.

Ahmed Khan Bahador, Syed. Essays on the life of Mohammed. London, prophet, 1870. This author claims to be a direct descendant of the and his essays are interesting as giving the view of a Moslem. The author wrote a "Mohammedan commentary on the Holy Bible."

Alcántara, Miguel Lafuente. Condicion y revoluciones de algunas razas españolas y especialmente de la Mozarabe, en la edad media. (In the author's "Historia de Granada." Two volumes. Paris, 1852. Vol. i.)

[Amari, Michele. La storia dei Musulmani d'Affrica. Author of Guerra del vespro Siciliano. 1842.]

Ameer Ali, Seyed, *Moulvi*, M.A., LL.B. A critical examination of the life and teachings of Mohammed. London, 1873. This writer, being a rationalistic (Motazilite) Moslem, his book has the advantage of presenting the side of the subject which is not familiar to Western readers. The book is readable in style, and clear in presentation of the author's views.

—— The personal law of the Mahommedans. (According to all schools.) Together with a comparative sketch of the law of inheritance among the Sunnis and the Shiahs. London, 1880. The author embodies in this work the substance of a series of discourses delivered by him as Lecturer on Mohammedan Law at the Presidency College of Calcutta. His Introduction of some forty pages gives a survey of the sects of Islam, and their origin.

Arnold, Edwin. Pearls of the faith; or, Islam's rosary. Being the ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah, which comments in verse from various Oriental sources. Boston, 1883.

Arnold, John Muhleisen. Ishmael: a natural history of Islamism. London, 1859. Arnold was a missionary in Asia and Africa. He says of Mohammed: "No ordinary mortal ever exercised such an immeasurable influence upon the human race, in a religious, moral, and political point of view, and this during a period of twelve centuries."

Arnold, Matthew. Essay on a Persian miracle-play. London, 1871. Gives an account of the festival of Moharrem as described by a witness of it. Another description is given in Lane-Poole's Studies in a Mosque, and still another (sketchy) in *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1886. Sir Lewis Pelley has written "The miracle-play of Hasan and Husain." London 1879.

Ayala, Ignacio Lopez de. Historia de Gibraltar. Madrid, 1782.

Barbier de Meynard, Casimir Adrien. Les prairies d'or, de Masudi. Text and

translation. Nine volumes, octavo. Paris, 1861–1877. Masudi was a native of Bagdad, who died, probably at Cairo, 956 A.D. This work is general history with details regarding the "Story of the Saracens." The translator was an Orientalist of superior scholarship. In the *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, Mars-Avril, 1869) he gives a study of the life of Ibrahim, the accomplished brother of Harun al Rashid. Pp. 201-342.

Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, Jules. Mahomet et le Coran, précédé d'une introduction sur les devoirs mutuels de la religion et la philosophie. One volume, octavo. Paris, 1865. A valuable preface of more than one hundred pages is a discussion of Islam, and the entire work is worthy of careful study. It is full of references to the best sources of information.

Bassett, James. Persia, the land of the Imams. A narrative of travel and residence, 1871–1885. One volume, octavo. New York, 1886. The author is a Christian missionary.

Bate, John Drew. The missionary's vade-mecum First series. An examination of the claims of Ishmael as viewed by Muhammadans. (Being the first chapter of section one of Studies in Islam.) One volume, octavo. Benâras, 1884. The author, missionary of the Baptists of London, promises othes books on kindred subjects.

Baudier, Le Sieur Michel. Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs. Rouen, . The style of this author is heavy, rambling, and uncritical, but his book is not without interest and may be used with profit.

Bayle, Pierre. Dictionnaire historique et critique. Revised. Rotterdam, 1720, In vol. iii. there is a sketch of Mohammed, with copious notes giving the authorities on which it is based. (The notes are many times more extensive than the text.)

Bebel, August. Die Mohammedanische-Arabische Kulturperiode. Stuttgart, 1844. One volume, duodecimo.

Benjamin of Tudela. (See Wright.)

[Black, C. I. The principles of Ishmael. Being a short historical survey of the Turanian tribes in their western migrations. London, 1880.]

Bleda, Jayme. Coronica de los Moros de España. One volume, quarto. Valencia, 1618.

Blunt, Lady Anne Isabella King-Noel. A pilgrimage to Nejd, the cradle of the Arab race. Two volumes. London, 1881. These volumes contain much information about the interior of Arabia. There are cuts of the city of Meshed Ali, and other places.

Bosworth Smith, R. Mohammed and Mohammedanism. London and New York, 1873. Lectures, to which are appended an important article of Islam. by Emanuel Deutsch. The polemical lecturer, in his effort to be just, ventures too near the line of eulogy. Interesting and stimulating.

Boulainvilliers, Henri, Count de. La vie de Mahomed. Londres, 1730. This is much more fair to the prophet than was customary at the day, and the count (who unfortunately died, 1722, before his work was published or even finished) exhibits a refreshing amount of common-sense. It was his opinion that the world could afford to be just to a man who, despite his faults, had published much truth, after he had been dead more than a thousand years. A translation into English was published 1752.

[Bréguigny, Louis George Oudard Freudrix de (1716–1795). La vie de Mahomet.]

Brünnow, Rudolf Ernest. Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten islamischen Jahrhunderts. One volume, octavo. Leiden, 1884.

Burckhardt, John Lewis. Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys. London, 1831. The Wahabis were fanatical reformers who arose early in the eighteenth century and almost succeeded in revolutionizing Islam.

Burton, Richard F. Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to El Medinah and Mecca. Three volumes, duodecimo. London, 1855. Republished in New York.

Bush, George. The life of Mohammed. New York, 1830. Mohammed is here represented to have appeared in fulfilment of the prophecy in Daniel vii., 8-26, "confirmed and illustrated" by Revelation ix., 1-9; commentators "at the present day" being "almost universally agreed in regarding the fifth trumpet as symbolizing and predicting the appearance of the Arabian impostor, his spurious religion, and his Saracen followers."

Cardonne, Denis Dominique. Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, sous la domination des Arabes. Three volumes, duodecimo. Paris, 1765. Not of great value. The author was an Oriental scholar, but inferior to Conde. Fournel says that the book is below criticism.

Carlyle, Thomas. The hero as a prophet, in the volume entitled "On heroes and hero-worship." London, 1840. A stimulating and very interesting delineation of the salient traits of Islam and the life of its prophet; but some of the lines are emphasized with too much vigor.

Caussin de Perceval, Armand-Pierre. Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes, avant l'Islamisme. Paris, 1847, 1848. This author (like his father) was a thorough Oriental scholar, and an original investigator of the first rank. He had travelled and lived among the Mohammedans, and was familiar with their customs and history. He was a member of the French Academy. His work is among the very best sources of information. The three volumes carry the history to the year 840, when all the tribes of Arabia were conquered to Islam.

[Caussin de Perceval. Les sept Moallakat. Texte Arabe. Quarto. Paris.]

Chénier, Louis Sauveur de. Recherches historiques sur les Maures. Three volumes. Paris, 1787. This author resided several years at Constantinople, and became interested in his subject.

Chesney, Francis Rawdon. The expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by order of the British government, in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837. Two volumes, and maps separate. London, 1850. Chapters xiv. to xix. of volume II. comprise many facts connected with "The Story of the Saracens," though they are not abreast with present scholarship.

Circourt, Anne Marie Joseph Albert, Count de. Histoire des Mores Mudejares, et des Morisques, ou des Arabes d'Espagne sous la domination des Chrétiens. Three volumes, octavo. Paris, 1846–1848.

Clark, Edson Lyman. The Arabs and the Turks; their origin and history, their religion, their imperial greatness in the past, and their condition at the present time. A brief résumé of the "Story of the Saracens" is given here in seventy pages. Boston, 1876.

Clarke, James Freeman. Ten great religions. Boston, 1871. Islam receives fair treatment in the course of Dr. Clarke's investigations.

Clerc, Alfred. See Perron, Dr.

Clouston, W. A. Arabian poetry for English readers. Glasgow, 1881. Privately printed. This volume contains translations by Sir William Jones, Professor Joseph Dacres Carlyle, J. W. Redhouse, and others, from many Arabian poets. The first mentioned was the first Orientalist of his time; Carlyle was professor at Oxford; and Redhouse lived twenty years among the Moslems.

Conde, José Antonio. Historia de la dominacion de los Árabes en España. Three volumes, folio. Madrid, 1820–21. The same in English in Bohn's Library, 2 vols., London, 1854. This was long considerably esteemed as an authentic source of information. It was compiled from Arabic works. Gayangos said that it contained many blunders and contradictions, and that though "the foundation of all our knowledge of Mohammedan Spain," it was "far from fulfilling the expectations of the scholar." Dozy asserts that Conde forged his dates and invented his facts. It should be said that the book was printed after the author's death.

Coppée, Henry. History of the conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors. Boston, 1881. Two volumes.

Crichton, Andrew. The history of Arabia, ancient and modern. Two volumes, eighteenmo. London, 1833. New York, 1834. The author made good use of the authorities at hand half a century ago.

Darmesteter, James. Coup d'œil sur l'histoire de la Perse. Paris, 1885.

——— Le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam jusqu'à nos jours. Paris, 1885. Valuable and succinct.

Daumer, Georg Friedrich. Mahomed und sein Werk; Eine Sammlung orientalischer Gedichte. One volume, sixteenmo. Hamburg, 1848.

Desvergers, Joseph Marie Adolphe Noël. Arabie. In a series of volumes entitled L'universe. One volume, octavo. Paris, 1847. Thorough for a sketch, though somewhat heavy.

——— Histoire de l'Afrique sous la domination Musulmane (Ibn Kaldoun), 1841.

[——— La vie de Mahomet of Abulfeda.]

Deutsch, Emanuel Oscar Menahem. Literary remains, London and New York, 1874. Besides the essay on Islam, this volume comprises some other chapters on kindred topics.

——— Islam. *London Quarterly Review*. October, 1869. (Reprinted in Bosworth-Smith's work.) It is a masterly presentation of the subject of the prophet's teachings.

Diercks, Gustav. Die Araber im Mittelalter, und ihr Einfluss auf die Cultur Europa's. One volume, octavo. Leipzig, 1882.

Dieterici, Friedrich. Die Lehre von der Weltseele bei den Arabern im X. Jahrhundert.

——— Die Naturanschauung und Naturphilosophie der Araber im Zehnten Jahrhundert. Posen, 1864. Professor in the University of Berlin, and author of "Reisebilder aus dem Morgenlande." Berlin, 1853. Two volumes. Egypt, Palestine and Arabia Petrea.

——— Die Philosophie der Araber im X. Jahrhundert. One volume, octavo. Leipzig, 1876. A sketch of the brothers of purity.

Dods, Marcus. Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ. London, 1877. The first portion discusses Islam, with many references to authorities.

Dozy, Reinhardt Pieter Anne. Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme. Traduit du Hollandais par Victor Chauvin. One volume, octavo. Leyden and Paris, 1879. An admirable presentation of the faith of Islam, of its history, legends, and sects.

——— Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, jusq'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides. Four volumes, eighteenmo. Leyden, 1861. This learned Hollander has published other important volumes on topics connected with the Arabs and the Berbers, and they are all of the highest value. He repudiates Conde, declaring his work utterly unworthy of confidence.

——— Die Israeliten zu Mekka von David's Zeit bis ins fünfte Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung. Leipzig, 1864.

——— Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge. Two volumes (third edition), octavo. Leyden, 1881.

Dugat, Gustave. Histoire des philosophes et des théologiens Musulmans, de 632 á 1258 de J. C. Paris, 1878. A detailed consideration of the subject, with a full index.

——— Histoire politique et littéraire des Arabes d'Espagne. This is a translation of Al Makkari. Five volumes, quarto. Paris, 1854–1859,

Dunn, Archibald J. The rise and decay of the rule of Islam. London, 1877. The first hundred pages of this book treat the subject of the "Story of the Saracens" in a very brief but somewhat inexact and sketchy manner, being introductory to the discussion of the "Eastern Question," which occupies the remaining eighteen chapters. The book does not reflect the latest scholarship.

Elmaçin, George. [Historia Saracenica.] L'histoire Mahométane, ou les quarante-neuf chalifes du Macine. Translated by Pierre Vattier. One volume, quarto. Paris, 1657. This book comprises extracts from the great work of Elmaçin. The names of the Arabians are disfigured almost beyond recognition. The translator apologizes for introducing his forty-nine heroes (enemies of the Christian faith) to polite French society. The dedication to Cardinal Mazarin and the preface are perhaps more interesting than the rest of the volume. Vattier was an Orientalist of no mean merit, however.

Ferreras, Juan de. Synópsis histórica chronológica de España. New edition, revised. Seventeen volumes, square duodecimo. Madrid, 1775–1781.

Florian, Jean Pierre Claris de. The Moors in Spain. (Translation.) New York, 1840.

Flügel, Gustav Leberecht. Die Geschichte der Araber, bis auf den Sturz des Chalifats von Bagdad. Three volumes. Dresden, 1832. Zittau und Leipzig, 1838. Leipzig, 1840. These small volumes belong to the "Allgemeine Historische Taschenbibliothek für Jedermann." Flügel was professor at Meissen from 1832 to 1850. He published an edition of the Koran, and a concordance to it.

Fogg, Wm. Perry. Arabistan; or, The land of the Arabian Nights, being travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Persia to Bagdad, with an introduction by Bayard Taylor. London, 1875. The author, an American, illustrates his book with many cuts from photographs which well represent the scenes mentioned.

Forster, Charles. The historical geography of Arabia; or, The patriarchal evidences of revealed religion. Two volumes. London, 1844.

——— Mahometanism unveiled. London, 1829. This author unveiled the animus

of his work in his title, in which he stated that it was an enquiry into an "arch-heresy." Historians no longer attempt to show their orthodoxy by calling names. Mohammed was to this writer the little horn of the beast mentioned in the eighth chapter of Daniel.

Fournel, Marie Jérôme Henri. Les Berbers. Étude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes, d'après les textes Arabes imprimés. One volume. Paris, 1875. The author died in 1876, and this volume only was published. In the preface there is a discriminative dissertation on the former writers upon the subjects treated.

Fraser, James Baillie. Travels in Koordistan and Mesopotamia. London, 1840. The same author, who was an extensive traveller, wrote "My journey into Khorasan," (1821), "Travels and adventures in the Persian provinces," (1826), and an account of a journey from Constantinople to Teheran.

Freeman, Edward Augustus. The history and conquests of the Saracens. London, 1856. (Third edition, 1877.) An exceedingly profitable sketch by a master.

Fresnel, Fulgence. Lettres sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme. One volume, octavo. Paris, 1836.

Gagnier, Jean. La vie de Mahomet. Amsterdam, 1732. This is one of the first lives of the prophet written from original sources, and contests with the book of the Count de Boulainvilliers the honor of being the first to oppose the prejudices that had inspired all previous writers on the subject of Islam. It marks a reaction in favor of the historical spirit in such investigations. Gagnier was professor of Semitic languages at Oxford.

Galland, Antoine. Les mille et une nuits, with a dissertation by Baron Silvestre de Sacy. Paris, 1840; originally published in 1704–17. (Twelve volumes.) The best edition of this translation, however, is that by Caussin de Perceval, 1806. Galland lived in the East a long time, and was well acquainted with Eastern manners, customs, and languages.

Garcin de Tassy, Josephe Héliodore Sagesse Vertu. Exposition de la foi Musulmane, traduite du Turc de Mohammed-ben-Pir-Ali-el-Berkeri. One volume, octavo. Paris, 1822. This eminent Orientalist, a native of Marseilles, was a pupil of Silvestre de Sacy.

Gayangos, Pascual. An historical notice of the kings of Granada from the conquest of that city by the Arabs to the expulsion of the Moors. One volume, sixteenmo. "Crystal Palace Library." London, 1854. (Reprinted from the "Plans, elevations, and sections of the Alhambra." London, 1842.) See also Makkari.

Geiger, Abraham. Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? Bonn, 1833. Geiger, an Orientalist rabbi, published this brief study at the age of twenty-three, having previously taken a prize at the university of Bonn for it as an essay on the Hebraic sources of the Koran. Dozy pronounces it very instructive, though here and there a little behind the times.

Gibbon, Edward. Chapters l., li., lii., of The decline and fall of the Roman empire. A wonderfully graphic account of the rise and decline of the Saracens. The many notes refer to the author's authorities.

Gobineau, Joseph Arthur, Count de. Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale. (Second edition.) Paris, 1866. Chapter iii. gives an account of Islam, and of the origin of the Alyite schism, and chapter xiii. describes the Persian theatre and the celebration of Moharrem.

[Goeje, Michæl Jan de. Fragmenta historicorum Arabicorum. Lugd. Batavorum, 1869. Two volumes, quarto.]

Goergens, E. P., Professor in the University of Berne. Der Islam und die moderne Kultur. In "Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen," viii. Berlin, 1879. Pages 261-308.

Goldziher, Ignaz. Die Zâhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Muhammedanischen Theologie. Leipzig, 1884. One volume, octavo.

Greene, Samuel. A brief account of the rise and decline of the Mohammedan empire. (From Greene's life of Mohammed.) In a translation of Florian's Moors in Spain. New York, 1840.

Guignes, Joseph de. Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares Occidentaux. Four volumes, quarto. Paris, 1835. Originally published in five volumes. Paris, 1756-58. The topics of the "Story of the Saracens" are treated in books vi., vii., x.-xii., xv.-xviii.

Guyard, Stanislas. La civilisation Musulmane. Paris, 1884. The author of this able little volume was formerly professor in the College of France, and his work is of the highest authority. The same writer contributed the article on "Musulmans" to the "Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses," vol. ix., pp. 501-511. Paris, Felix Lechtenberger, ed. 1880. Guyard contributed also to the "Encyclopedia Britannica" (ninth edition) an article on the Eastern Kalifate, vol. xvi., pp. 561-597.

——— Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélîs. Texte publié pour la première fois, avec une traduction complète et des notes. One volume, quarto. Paris, 1874.

Hakem, Ibn-abd-el. See Jones, J. H.

Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph, Baron von. Gemäldesaal der Lebenbeschreibungen grosser moslimischer Herrscher. Six volumes. Leipzig and Darmstadt, 1837-1839. These volumes contain sketches of fifty persons, including Mohammed, Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, Ali, Moawia, Yezid, Merwan, Abd el Melik, Welid, Abul Abbas, Mansur, Harun, Mamun, Motassim, Abd er Rahman of Spain, Mahmud the Gaznevide, and Togrul the Seljuk.

——— Literaturgeschichte der Araber. Seven volumes, octavo. Wien, 1850-1856. The reputation of this laborious author is not so high as it formerly was.

——— Über die Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate. One volume, octavo. Berlin, 1835.

Herbelot, Barthélemy, d'. Bibliothèque Orientale, ou dictionnaire universel, contenant tout ce qui fait connoître les peuples de l'Orient. Edited by Antoine Galand, and published after the author's death. Paris, 1697. This extensive volume though uncritical, is a mine of information which the Oriental student cannot ignore yet.

Higgins, Godfrey. Anacalypsis, an attempt to draw aside the veil of the Saitic Isis; or an inquiry into the origin of languages, nations, and religions. Two volumes, quarto. London, 1836. Vol. i., pp. 678-688, specially treats Mohammed and Islam in a vigorous but erratic style. Higgins published in 1829, a life of Mohammed, which Edward Upham pronounces, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1830 (p. 10), "full of errors." The author is, however, cherished with "high esteem and respect" for his learning and ability and "correct view" of Islam, by Syed Ahmed.

Howorth, Henry H. History of the Mongols from the ninth to the nineteenth century. Part I. The Mongols proper and the Kalmuks. London, 1876. Contains a good chapter on Jingis Khan. Marred by a preface of singular self-consciousness.

Hughes, Thomas Patrick. A dictionary of Islam, being a cyclopædia of the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and customs, together with the technical and theological terms of the Muhammadan religion. London and New York, 1885. Very valuable and modern. The author (now in America) lived many years in India.

——— Notes on Muhammadanism. (Second edition.) London, 1877.

Ibn-Khaldun. See Desvergers, and Slane.

Ireland, William. The blot upon the brain. Studies in history and psychology. One volume, octavo. New York, 1886. Paper ii treats "the hallucination of Mohammed."

Irving, Washington. Mahomet and his successors. Two vols. New York, 1849. In these two volumes this usually fascinating author tells his story in a less entertaining style than would be expected, and he does not rank high as a scientific historical student. He wrote before the late studies on the subject were made public, and failed in some cases to give his facts in their proper relation.

——— Spanish papers and other miscellanies, hitherto unpublished and uncollected. Arranged and edited by Pierre M. Irving. Two volumes. New York (revised edition), 1850. (Also the first edition published by Bohn in London.) The first of the volumes, only, refers to the conquest of Spain by the Moors, and is very interesting in connection with the history of the period on account of the many romantic episodes that Mr. Irving incorporated in his narrative. The "Fra Antonio Agapida" of the book is a creature of the author's imagination.

Jacolliot, Louis. Manou, Moïse, Mahomet. Traditions religeuses comparées des lois de Manou, de la Bible, du Coran. One volume, octavo. Paris, 1876.

[Jessup, Henry H, The Mohammedan missionary problem. One vol., 16mo, with map. Philadelphia, 1879. The author (a missionary in Beirut) presents the features of Islam favorable and unfavorable to the spread of Christianity.]

Johnson, Samuel. Oriental religions. Persia. Boston, 1884. Islam, pp. 530-782.

Jomard, Edme-François. See Mohammed-Aly.

Jones, John Harris. Ibn abd-el Hakem's history of the conquest of Spain, now edited for the first time. Translated from the Arabic. Goettingen and London, 1858. This small volume contains the Arabic text, a translation and notes, and an historical introduction, in which there are critical references to authorities.

Kazimirski, Aleksander von Biberstein. Civilisation Musulmane. Observations historiques et critiques sur le Mahometanisme. From the English of Sale. In Les livres sacrés de l'Orient, by Jean Pierre Guillaume Pauthier. Paris, 1840, pp. 463–538. Also the Koran, pp. 539–752. The volume contains also the Chou-King and the laws of Manou, with descriptive introductions.

——— Le Koran. Traduction faite sur le texte Arabe. Paris, 1859. A revised edition of this version is given in Les livres sacrés de l'Orient, by J. P. G. Pauthier, Paris, 1840. Kazimirski was a Polish exile.

Keane, J. F. My journey to Medinah. London, 1881. An entertaining volume of travel.

Khallikan, Ibn. See Slane, Wm. McG.

Kindy, Al. The apology of. Written at the court of Al Mamun, in defence of Christianity against Islam, with an essay on its age and authorship. By Sir William Muir. London, 1882.

Krehl, Christoph Ludolf Ehrenfried. Das Leben des Muhammed. Leipzig, 1884. One small and comprehensive volume which the author intends to follow with another on the teachings of the prophet. [Krehl wrote also "Ueber die Religion der vorislamischen Araber." One volume, quarto. Leipzig, 1863.]

Kremer, Alfred von. Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen. Two volumes, octavo. Wien, 1875–1877.

——— Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams. Der Gottesbegriff, die Prophetie und Staatsidee. Leipzig, 1868.

[La Croix, ———. Anecdotes Arabes et Musulmanes. Paris, 1772.]

Lake, John Joseph. Islam: its origin, genius, and mission. London, 1878. A brief, sympathetic outline, in which the author attempts to prove that "the Western World is greatly indebted to the Moslems for its present state of advancement."

Lane, Edward William. An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, written in Egypt during the years 1833, 1834, and 1835. Two volumes, sixteenmo. London, 1836, 1837. This is the most accessible source of accurate information about Arabian manners.

——— Selections from the Kur-ân. New edition, revised and enlarged, with an introduction, by Stanley Lane-Poole. [Original edition, London, 1843.] Boston, 1879.

——— The thousand and one nights. Edited by his nephew, Edward Stanley-Poole. London, 1865. The three volumes of this beautiful work are a mine of information about the habits and customs of the Arabians.

Lane-Poole, Stanley. Le Koran: sa poésie et ses lois. The materials of this volume appeared in English in the same author's Table-talk of Mohammed. It treats the Koran under the heads of poetry, rhetoric, argument, harangues, and laws. Paris, 1882.

——— Studies in a mosque. London, 1883. Contains an important chapter on the festival of Moharrem, an account of the Brotherhood of Purity of Bassora (A.D. 975), and much other matter of interest.

——— The speeches and table-talk of Mohammad, chosen and translated, with an introduction and notes, by Stanley Lane-Poole. London, 1882. Contains in brief compass much information concerning the prophet and his teachings.

Le Bon, Gustave. La civilisation des Arabes. Paris, 1884. This volume is elegantly illustrated, and a number of its graphic pictures have been reproduced for "The Story of the Saracens." A valuable "Bibliographie méthodique" occupies pp. 679–686.

Lee, Samuel. See Martyn, Henry. Lee was professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Died in 1852.

Lembke, Friedrich Wilhelm. Geschichte von Spanien. Four volumes. Hamburg, 1831, 1844. Gotha, 1861, 1881. Vol. i., pp. 249–308 treats the subject as far as it falls within the scope of this volume.

Loftus, W. K. Travels and researches in Chaldæa and Susiana. London, 1857. Touches "The Story of the Saracens" at some points. See also *La Revue Archéologique*, for 1885, vol. ii., article by Dieulefoy.

Lopez de Cañete, Cristóbal. Compendio de los Pronósticos y baticinios antigvos y modernos, que publican la declinacion general de la secta de Mahoma, y libertad de Hierusalem, y Palestina. One volume small quarto. Granada, 1630. Mr. Ticknor inscribes this volume, "A specimen of the popular notions about Mahomet and Islamism in Spain in 1630." Mohammed's birth is put at 596 A.D.

Macbride, John David. Mohammedanism explained; with an introductory sketch of its progress, and suggestions as to its confutation. One volume octavo. London, 1857. The author was Principal of Magdalen Hall, and Lord High Almoner's reader in Arabic in the University of Oxford.

Maitland, Edward. England and Islam: or, The counsel of Caiaphas. One volume, duodecimo. London, 1877.

Makkarí, Ahmed ibn Mohammed, al. The history of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain. Translated and illustrated with critical notes by Pascual de Gayangos. Two volumes, quarto. London, 1840–1843. This is the only Arabian author who gives an uninterrupted narrative of the conquests, wars, and settlements of the Moors in Spain from their first invasion to the final expulsion. Makkarí died in (1041 A.H.) 1631 A.D.

Malleson, George Bruce. History of Afghanistan from the earliest period. London, 1879. (Second edition.) This volume contains a description of Kabul, p. 6.

Mariana, Juan de. Historia general de España. Seven volumes, duodecimo. Madrid, 1794. Continuation by Joseph Manuel Miniana. Three volumes, Madrid, 1795. Mariana's work was originally published in Latin in 1592. A Spanish translation was published in folio, in three volumes, in Madrid, in 1733–41.

Marigny, François Augier, Abbé de. Histoire des Arabes sous le gouvernement des Califes. Four volumes. Paris, 1750.

——— Histoire des révolutions de l'empire des Arabes. Paris, 1750. The first of the four volumes of this work is the one specially connected with the present subject. It comprises a geographical table giving some account of the kingdoms, provinces, and cities of the Kalifate and the surrounding peoples, and an account of the dynasties of the Taherians, Soffarides, Samanides, Fatimites (Ismailians), Buvides (Dilemites), Gaznevides, and Seljucides. The orthography of names is comparatively simple, and very much better than that of Vattier. (Same, edited by l'Abbé Perau, 1752.)

Markham, Clements Robert. A general sketch of the history of Persia. London, 1874. A sketchy account of the Saracens before the fall of Bagdad is to be found in this volume. Genealogies of the Omiad and Abbasside kalifs are given.

Martin, Joseph Manuel. Historia verdadera de falso profeta Mahoma, sacada de San Eulogio, Juan Sangredo, Fr. Jayme Bleda, y otros historiadores. Valladolid. No date. One of a collection made by Mr. Ticknor, of which he says that it "contains the prose tracts most current among the common people of Spain between 1840 and 1850; or rather a fair and characteristic selection from them."

Martyn, Henry. Controversial tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism. Cambridge, 1824. Martyn was aided by some "of the most eminent writers of Persia." The collection was prepared by the Rev. S. Lee. The Persians support Islam and Martyn opposes it. Lee sums up the arguments.

Marvin, Charles. Merv, the queen of the world; and the scourge of the man-stealing Turcomans. London, 1881. Vambery is much lauded.

Masdeu, Juan Francisco de. Historia crítica de España, y de la cultura Española. Twenty volumes, small quarto. Madrid, 1783–1805. This work was first published in Italy in 1781. Vols. xii.–xiv. treat the Arabian period, the last-mentioned being occupied with important tables, in which the years of our era are placed opposite those of the Mohammedan calendar.

Masudi. See Barbier de Meynard.

Maurice, Frederick Denison. The religions of the world and their relations to Christianity. London (and Boston, 1854). Portions of these important contributions to the theme treated relate to the religion of the Moslems.

Mercier, Ernest. Histoire de l'établissement des Arabes dans l'Afrique Septentrionale. [From about 1100 B.C.] Constantine, Alger, and Paris, 1875. The author has followed Arabian authors, and especially Ibn Khaldun. A good map shows the positions of Kairwan, Ceuta, Tangier, and the other places mentioned in "The Story of the Saracens."

Merrick, James Lyman. The life and religion of Mohammed, as contained in the Sheeâh traditions of the Hyât-ul-Kuloob. Translated from the Persian. One volume, duodecimo. Boston, 1850.

Miles, George H. Mohammed, the Arabian prophet. A tragedy, in five acts, which won a prize of $1,000, offered by Edwin Forrest. Boston, 1850.

Mills, Charles. A history of Muhammedanism. London, 1818. (Revised edition.) A somewhat calm study of the subject by an English barrister, who read a large number of Oriental books preparatory to writing.

Milman, Henry Hart. History of Latin Christianity. In six volumes. Second edition. London, 1857. Book iv., chapters one and two. Mohammed and successors of Mohammed. Revised after reading Sprenger's Mohammed. Dr. Weil was among Milman's chief authorities in treating Mohammed's successors. Milman gives a good table of contemporary chronology (on pages 444, 445) from A.D. 604–815.

Miniana. See Mariana.

Moallakat. See Caussin de Perceval. [A work by Arnold is, however, later, and valuable.]

Mohammed Ali. Études geographiques et historiques sur l'Arabie, avec des observations sur l'état des affaires en Arabie et en Égypte par M. [Edme. François] Jomard. Paris, 1839. Jomard accompanied the French army to Egypt in 1798, and remained there four years.

[Mohler, Johann Adam. (1796–1838.) Islam et l'Évangile. Translated by J. P. Menge, with a preface by John Muir. Calcutta, 1847.]

Morgan, Joseph. Mahometanism fully explained. London, 1723. Antiquated.

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——— The early Caliphate. London, 1883. In this volume Sir William continues the history begun in his Life of Mahomet, carrying it down to the reign of Yezid I., though after the death of Ali the story is simply epitomised. Its general traits are the same as those of the former work.

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[Nöldeke, Theodor. Bieträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber. One volume, octavo. Hannover, 1864.]

——— Das Leben Muhammed's, nach den Quellen popular dargestellt. One volume, twelvemo. Hannover, 1863.

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of different phases of Islam, but are not intended to be a connected history. The author gives many interesting details.

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Pastoret, Claude Emmanuel Joseph Pierre, *Marquis* de. Zoroastre, Confucius, et Mahomet, comparés comme sectaires, legislateurs, et moralistes. Second edition. One volume, twelvemo. Paris, 1787. Pastoret exposes some of the calumnies of Prideaux and others (p. 213). His work was crowned by the Academy.

Pauthier, Jean Pierre Guillaume. See Kazimirski, Aleksander.

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Perron, A. Femmes Arabes, avant et depuis l'Islamisme. Paris, 1858. An exhaustive discussion of the condition of Arabian women in Arabia from the earliest times to the reign of Mamun.

——— L'Islamisme, son institution, son influence, et son avenir. Ouvrage posthume, publié et annoté par son neveu, Alfred Clerc. Paris, 1877. This author was professor of chemistry at Cairo, and a member of the Société Asiatique about 1866.

Pocock, Edward. Historia compendiosa dynastiarum Orientalium; from Abulfaraj, of Malatia. Oxford, 1663. Dr. Pocock studied Arabic at Aleppo, and was afterwards professor of the language at his native place. Gibbon, in a note to his fifty-first chapter, says: "The English scholar understood more Arabic than the mufti of Aleppo."

——— Specimen historiæ Arabum. Extracts from Abulfaraj of Malatia, on the origin and customs of the Arabs, with notes. Oxford, 1650. The "extracts" are comprised in pages 1–31, and the notes (which have a separate title-page dated 1648) run from page 33 to 390. The extracts are in Arabic and Latin on opposite pages, and the notes are in Latin. This work is the one so frequently mentioned by Gibbon as an authority.

Poole, Stanley Lane. See Lane-Poole, Stanley.

Porter, Josias Leslie. Five years in Damascus. London, 1855. The giant cities of Bashan. London, 1865.

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——— Essay towards the history of Arabia antecedent to the birth of Mohammed, arranged from Tarikh Tebry, and other authentic sources. One volume, quarto. London, 1824.

Prideaux, Humphrey. La vie de Mahomet où l'on découvre amplement la vérité de l'imposture. Amsterdam, 1698. A life of Mahomet. London, 1697. This work has been entirely superseded by more thorough and less partial investigations. It reflects the unreasoning denunciation of the prophet current from the times of the Crusades, when the very name of the destroyer of idolatry in Arabia was made a synonyme for an idol. (See "mammet" in Shakespeare, and "mawmet" in Wiclif.)

Rabbe, Alphonse. Compendio de la Historia de España. Madrid, 1824. Two volumes. Among the books used by Prescott in his historical work, but not of great importance.

Ranke, Leopold von. Weltgeschichte. [Vol. v.] Die Arabische Weltherrschaft und das Reich Karl des Grossen. Leipzig, 1884.

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Reinaud, Joseph Toussaint. Extraits des historiens arabes, relatifs aux guerres des Croisades. (New edition.) Paris, 1829. The same writer has also published "Invasion des Sarrasins en France." Paris, 1836. See also Abulfeda.

——— Notice sur Mahomet. Extrait de la Nouvelle Biographie Générale, publié par F. Didot, avec quelques additions. One volume, octavo. Pp. 92, Paris, 1860

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Rodwell, John Medows. The Koran: translated from the Arabic, the suras arranged in chronological order; with notes and index. London, 1871. The author endorses Nöldeke's order of the later suras, but he arranges the earlier ones differently. He sees "no evidence that Mohammed had access to the Christian Scriptures," though fragments may have reached him. He thinks that "vituperative language" ought not to be poured out upon the prophet.

Roebuck, John Arthur. Life of Mahomet. (Lives of eminent persons: Library of universal knowledge.) London, 1833. Roebuck makes good use of the works of Sale, Gibbon, Gagnier, Niebuhr, Ockley, Bayle, Prideaux, and other authorities. He says that Gagnier wrote "precisely as a Mussulman might have written." Roebuck was an active politician.

Rosseeuw St.-Hilaire, Eugène François Achille. Histoire d'Espagne depuis les premiers temps. Paris, 1844–1879. Fourteen volumes. The first volume of this masterly work is the only one treating the topics of "The Story of the Saracens."

[Rühle von Lilienstern, Johann Jakob Otto August. Zur Geschichts der Araber vor Muhamad. Berlin, 1836.]

Ryer, André du. The life of Mahomet; together with the Alkoran at large; translated out of Arabic into French, and thence into English. London, 1718.

Sale, George. The Koran: commonly called the Alkoran of Mohammed. With explanatory notes and a very valuable preliminary discourse on the entire

subject of the Saracenic faith and the religion and government of the people. Eighth edition. London and Philadelphia. Disraeli calls this (though a paraphrase) the first genuine version of the Koran, but it is now superseded by more exact translations. It was published in 1734, and has been often reprinted. The eighth edition contains many notes and various readings from the French version by Claude Étienne Savary. (See Wherry, E. M.)

Savary, Claude Étienne. Le Coran (with notes and an abridged life of Mohammed). Paris, 1783. The following year the same author published a collection of the best thoughts from the Koran with the title "Morale de Mahomet."

Schuyler, Eugene. Turkistan. Two volumes. Eighth edition. London and New York, 1876. The author is very friendly to Russia.

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Sell, Edward. The faith of Islam. London and Madras, 1880. The author lived for fifteen years in India, and his study of the subject is based upon information gathered there.

Silvestre de Sacy, Antoine Isaac. Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse, et sur l'histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet. Quarto. Paris, 1793.

Slane, William McGuckin, Baron de. Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrional. From the Arabic of Ibn-Khaldun. Algiers, 1852–1864. Four volumes, octavo. Extracts are given from other writers besides Khaldun. A philosophical history.

—— Ibn Khallikan's biographical dictionary. Four volumes (in English). Paris, 1843. Over eight hundred articles. The author was an Arabian, born at Arbela, in 1211, of the famous family of the Barmecides. His work is a mine of erudition. Translated by Baron McGuckin de Slane,

[Smith, W. Robertson. Kinship and marriage in early Arabia. Cambridge [England], 1885. The author of this work is Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge.]

Sprenger, Aloys. Das Leben and die Lehre des Mohammad. Berlin, 1851–1861. This original investigator enjoyed the greatest advantages for his studies. He lived among the Moslems for years, and wrote other works on related topics. He was professor at Bonn after 1857. He devotes much space to an examination of the condition under which Mohammed received his "revelations," in connection with an investigation of the "conversation with spirits and angels" that Swedenborg professed to have had, both of which he attributes to epilepsy. A book of the first importance.

—— The life of Mohammed, from original sources. One volume, octavo. Allahabad, 1851. This volume did not finish the life of the prophet, and no more seems to have been published.

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn. Lectures on the Eastern Church. London, 1861. Chapter VII., Mahometanism. This is not up to the times.

[Steiner, Heinrich. Die Mu'taziliten, oder die Freidenker im Islam. Leipzig, 1865.]

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Tassy. See Garcin de Tassy.

Tela, Josephus. The philosophical library: being a curious collection of the most rare and valuable printed books, both ancient and modern, which treat of moral, metaphysical, theological, historical, and philosophical enquiries after truth. London, 1818. Vol. iii., pp. 1–92, treats Islam, but not thoroughly.

Tewfik, Hussein. A lecture giving a few facts on Mohammedanism. Providence, R. I., 1878. A criticism of the work of Edward A. Freeman, who is chosen as representative of those who desire "the extermination of the Turks."

Thomson, William McClure. The land and the book: Southern Palestine and Jerusalem; Central Palestine; Lebanon, Damascus, and beyond Jordan. New York, 1886. Three volumes, octavo. A number of passages illustrate "The Story of the Saracens."

Turpin, François Henri. Histoire de la vie de Mahomet. Three volumes. Paris, 1773. This author did not sympathize with the indiscriminate prejudices current at his time regarding Mohammed. He was professor at the University of Caen, where he was born in 1709. He died at Paris in 1799.

Upham, Edward. The history and doctrine of Buddhism, popularly illustrated. One folio volume. London, 1829. Touches Islam in certain places.

——— History of the Ottoman empire, from its establishment to the year 1828. Preceded by the life of Mahomet. London. American edition (Philadelphia, 1833) contains the life by Roebuck, instead of that of Upham. There is also additional matter.

Vámbéry, Arminius. History of Bokhara from the earliest period down to the present. London, 1873. Eight chapters of this work treat topics related to "The Story of the Saracens."

Viardot, Louis. Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes et des Mores d'Espagne. Paris, 1833. One volume, octavo. Viardot borrowed his facts from Conde, but says that he gave that author's compilation "a sort of control" [which it very much needed], by comparing it with the works of Ferreras, Masdeu, Hurtado de Mendoza, Bleda, and others.

Weber, George. Allgemeine Weltgeschichte. Fifteen volumes, and three volumes of indexes. Leipzig, 1857-1880. Indexes, 1865-1881. Volume v., pages 1-206, contains a good outline of "The Story of the Saracens."

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——— Historische-kritische Einleitung in den Koran. Bielefeld, 1844.

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Wortabet, John. Researches into the religions of Syria. London, 1860. Part II. Mohammedanism. A polemical book by a missionary in Mohammedan lands.

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INDEX.

A

Abbas, uncle of Mohammed, obtains control of Zem-zem, 43; address of, at the hill Akaba, 114; gives notice of an attack from Mecca, 154; takes the part of Mohammed, 182, 183

Abbas (Abul) the Bloody, claims of, to the kalifate, 348; appears in Korassan, 350; butchery of, 352; efforts to found a dynasty, 353; death of, 353

Abbassides (spelled also Abassides and Abbasides), the, Victory of at Constantinople, 364; indignation of, against Mamun, 380

Abd al Kaba (Abu Bekr) accepts Islam, 81

Abdalla, birth and devotion of, 32; marriage and death of, 38

Abdalla forces Meccans to hear the Koran, 93

Abdalla opposes Mansur, 355

Abdalla, son of Motaz, a rival kalif, 412

Abdalla, son of Zobeir, claims the kalifate, 293; at Medina, calls Hosein a martyr, 305; loses an opportunity, 307; the sole kalif, 309; death of, 315

Abdalla, uncle of Abbas, made governor of Syria, 354

Abd al Muttalib (properly Abd al Mutallib), receives the rights of Hashim, 32; loses camels, 35

Abd el Melik, becomes kalif, 311; shut out from the Kaaba, 312; supreme, 315; refuses tribute to Constantinople, 318; death of, 319

Abd er Rahman, governor of Spain, withdraws from France, 339; defeated at Tours, 342

Abd er Rahman, first Omiade kalif at Cordova, 352

Abomination of Desolation, The, of Daniel, 250

Abraha, viceroy of Abyssinia, 34; discomfited, 37

Abraham assists Ishmael to rebuild the Kaaba, 24

Abrahamitic ideas of God, 54

Abstinence from wine first recommended, then commanded, 128, 137, 161. (See Wine.)

Abu Bekr, name of, 99, 100; accepts Islam, 81; escapes from Mecca with Mohammed, 118; conducts pilgrims to Mecca, 198; takes the place of Mohammed in the mosque, 205; address of, after the prophet's death, 215; chosen kalif, 216; description of, 218; forcible policy of, 221; death of, 232; and Ali, with Mohammed during the last pilgrimage, 203

Abulfaraj affirms the destruction of the library at Alexandria, 254

Abulfeda mentioned, 35; "History of Mankind," 420

Abu Lulu assassinates Omar, 260

Abu Sofian, conducts a caravan, 140, 147, 148 ; at the battle of Ohud, 154 ; goes against Constantinople, 292
Abu Talib (Ubu Taleb), blesses the marriage of Mohammed, 58 ; supports Mohammed, 76, 77 ; protects Mohammed, 84, 86, 88 ; dies, 96
Abyssinia, summoned to accept Islam, 174; the first emigration to, 93
Adam, fall of, 22 ; at Arafat, 30 ; and Eve, day of the creation of, 302
Adoption, children by, 100
Africa, Saracenic conquests in, 267 ; invasion of, under Moawia, 291 ; extension of the dominion of the kalifs in, 293 ; revolt of, 318 ; conquered the third time, 319 ; Moslem conquests in, threatened, 344 ; escape of from the Saracens, 348 ; trouble in from the Berbers, 359
Afrikis gathers the Amalekites, 10
Age, The golden, of Harun, 367 ; of Mamun, 388 ; of Motawakkel, 399
Aglab, father of Ibrahim, at Kairwan, 407
Aglabites, The, ravages of, 407
Ahmed, prophecy of, 134
Ahmed, Syed, on the health of Mohammed, 64 ; on the use of the sword by Mohammed, 144
Ahmed, son of Tulun, becomes governor of Egypt, 406
Ajnadein (Aiznaden) attacked by Amr, 246
Akaba, meeting at the hill, 100 ; first pledge of, 100 ; second meeting on, 113, 115 ; difference between the oaths of, 142
Aktal, Period of, 320
Alcoran, see Koran
Aleppo, conquest of, by the Saracens, 243, taken by the Tulunides, 406
Alexander, Battle of, with Darius, on the Zab, 351
Alexandria, siege of, by Amr, 254 ; fall of, 254; razed, 267 ; lost by Othman, 267
Ali, (Alee) son of Abu Talib, entrusted with a knowledge of the revelations, 81 ; enthusiastically accepts Islam, and is called kalif, 83 ; left behind at Mecca, 117, 118 ; reaches Yathrib, 126 ; marries Fatima, 161 ; suspicious of Ayesha, 162 ; commands against the Jews of Keibar, 175 ; detects Sara in sending illicit information, 182 ; reads a notable proclamation at Mecca, 199 ; with Mohammed during his last pilgrimage, 203 ; claims of, upon the office of kalif, 219, 220 ; action of, after the death of Fatima, 225 ; kalifate offered to, 264 ; reasons with rebels, 270 ; made kalif, 273 ; appeals to Kufa, 276; victorious over Ayesha, Talha, and Zobeir, 278 ; weakened at Siffin, 281 ; assassinated, 285 ; career of, 286
Ali ben Musa, promised the throne of Mamun, 380 ; sacrifices himself, 381
Al Kindy, The apology of, 389
Allah, character of, 19 ; the house of, 22 ; the worship of one supreme, 54 ; unity of, 201 ; as presented by Mohammed, 211
Allies of the kalifs become antagonists, 424
Alp Arslan (Seljuk) buried at Merv, 256
Alyites, the, disturb Korassan, 348; rise at Medina in the time of Mansur, 359 ; rising of, in time of Hedi, 365 ; rise of, in Africa in time of Harun,

370; rise of, under Mamun, 378, 379, 382; favored by Wathek, 395; get no sympathy from Motawakkel, 398; encouraged by Montaser, 399; rise of, in time of Mostain, 401; smiled upon by Motaded, 407; number of, in Islam, 407
Ameer, Seyed Ali, on the use of the sword by Mohammed, 144; on Motazilites, 282
Amin, destined by Harun as his successor, 373; surrenders to Tahir and Mamun, 377
Amina, (pronounced Ah'-mí-na), mother of Mohammed, left a widow, 39; dies at Medina, 42; Mohammed at the tomb of, 190; sorrow of Mohammed for, 208
Amissus attacked, 400
Amorium sacked by the Saracens, 392
Amr and Kalid converted, 177
Amr (Amru ben el Ass) takes the field against the Bedawins, 181; commissioned to conquer Filistin, 246; takes Cæsarea, 252; sets out for the conquest of Egypt, 253; treats the Egyptians to an object-lesson, 255; retakes Alexandria, 267; takes the part of Moawia, 279; takes possession of Egypt, 282
Amr, cousin of Abd el Melik, revolts against him and is slain, 313
Amr, successor of Yakub, the Soffaride, acknowledged by Motamed, 405; attacks Ismail Samana, 408, 409; mischance of, 409
Anarchy, in Bagdad, time of Mamun, 379; at Samarra, 401; in Bagdad, in time of Radi, 428
Angels, belief in, 15, 62; nature of, 16, 17; aid of, at Honein 188
Ansars, the new converts at Yathrib, 127; brotherhood formed with the Muajerin, 142
Antichrist, Arabian belief regarding, 197
Antioch, siege and conquest of, by the Saracens, 243; taken by the Tulunides, 406
Aquitania, Saracens enter, 338
Arab tongue, The, not to be used by Christians, 250
Arabia, position of, 1; shape of, 6; becomes acquainted with Persia, 60; decline of importance of, under the Omiades, 288; aroused by the acts of the Karmathians, 412
Arabia Petræa offered to Ziyad, 290
Arabs, imaginative, 14; marvellous change in the, 135; style of warfare of, 164
Arafat, the mountain of mercy, 30
Archangels, The four, 17
Architecture, The Saracenic, 322
Aristocracy, The, of Arabia, as established by Omar, 245
Arkam, The house of, 85
Armenia, war in, 338; disturbances in, at the time of Hisham, 345; rising in, in time of Motawakkel, 398; and Irak desolated by Babek, 391
Arnold, Matthew on the "Persian Passion-Play," 304
Arts and letters cultivated by Harun, 370. (See Letters.)
Asceticism not delighted in by Mohammed, 153
Ashes, Year of, 252
Ashmaat, Appeal of Mohammed to the, 54
Ass of Irak, The, a title of Merwan II., 349
Assassination, Policy of, 152
Assassination of Othman, 271
Assassins, The, described by Benjamin of Tudela, 433
Astronomy studied in time of Mamun, 388

Aswad, a rival of Mohammed in Yemen, 203
Asylum for the insane at Bagdad, 438
Ayesha, daughter of Abu Bekr, espoused by Mohammed, 99; formal marriage of Mohammed and, 140; home life of, 141; jealous of Zeinab, 161; scandal about, 162; patience recommeded to, 164; talk of Mohammed with, 214; place of burial of, 217; allies herself with Ali's enemies, 274; superstitions of, overcome by deceit, 275; vindictive spirit of, against Ali, 277; curses Amr and Moawia, 284
Ayub (Aiyoob, Ayyub), father of Saladin, 434
Azazil, or Iblis, 16
Azerbaijan (Aderbaijan), battle with Babek at, 391

B

Baalbek (Heliopolis), conquest of, 243
Babek, the sect of, 391
Babylon, site of, 227
Bagdad, founding of, 357; the, of romance, 366; magnificence of, under Harun, 368; anarchy in, in time of Mamun, 379; in confusion in time of Moktader, 421; description of, 438; fall of, 441
Balkis, queen of Sheba, visits Solomon, 10
Ban, The, placed upon Mohammed, 94
Barmecides, The, come to Bagdad, 358; character of, 368; fall of, 371
Barthélemy St. Hilaire on Islam, 136
Bassora, founded, 238; plague at, 253; taken by Ayesha and her partisans, 275; taken by Moawia, 284; battle near, 338; and Kufa, troubles at, 260, 266, 267, 268
Baudier mentioned, 434
Bedawins (*badu*, a desert), the free, 62; join forces with Mecca against Medina, 154; stirred up against the Jews, 174; accept Islam, 181; conspire against Mohammed, 186; become uneasy under Mohammed's rule, 203; allegiance of the, 227
Bedr, victory of Mohammed at, 149
Believers encouraged and unbelievers threatened, 113
Benjamin of Tudela gives an account of the Assassins, 433
Berbers, The, 10; reduced to terms, 318; incorporated in the Saracenic army, 319; as described by Musa, 335; give trouble, 359
Beshr questioned about the nature of the Koran, 385
Bible, Doctrines of the, presented to the Arabians, 136
Bilal, the first muezzin, death of, 253
Blind man, The poor, repulsed by Mohammed, 86
Blood, price of, 33; first drawn in Islam, 84
Blood-vengeance prohibited, 202
Bokhara, science at, 256; conquered by Obeidolla, 291; conquest of, 322; capital of Ismail Samana at, 408; Seljuks in, 432; taken by Jengis Khan, 440
Books, none in Arabia, 2, 60; effect of the absence of, 46, 47; did not teach Mohammed, 60
Borak (lightning), the beast that takes Mohammed to heaven, 104
Bostra, visited by Mohammed, 46; envoy of Mohammed sent to, 178; description of, by Ockley, 231

Boulainvilliers, Count de, on Islam, 137
Boweib, battle of, 235
Bozra, see Bostra
Bridge of Boats, Battle of the, 234
Brotherhood, A, established at Medina, 141, 142
Buran, daughter of Hasan, becomes wife of Mamun, 383
Burial of Mohammed, 217
Buvides (Dilemites), rise of the, 426; supreme at Bagdad, 428; end of the, 430
Byzantium, listlessness of, 241

C

Cabus, see Kabus.
Cæsarea taken by Amr, 252
Cairo (Fostat), foundation of, 254; mosque erected at, 321; built by the Fatimites, 430
Caliph, see Kalif.
Camel, Day of the, 277
Capital of Islam, Removal of the, 288
Cappadocia, conquest of, 322; war in, 392
Captives, Dissatisfaction regarding, 189
Caravans, The, from Mecca tempt the prophet, 144
Carcasonne and Nismes taken, 339
Carlyle, Professor J. D., translations by, 427, 428
Carlyle, Thomas, on the Hanifs, 52; on the character of Mohammed, 65, 66
Carthage reduced by Hasan, 318
Caspian region penetrated by Othman's troops, 267
Casuistry necessary in Islam, 424
Caussin de Perceval, on the date of Mohammed's birth, 39; on the offer of Islam to the Koreishites, 82; on the date of the Hejra, 121; treats the siege of Bostra as a fact, 231; on the era of the Hejra, 260
Cave, Mohammed in the, 113, 122
Ceuta, Saracens repulsed at, 324; given up, 326
Chadijah, see Kadija.
Chains, Battle of the, 228
Chaldea and Babylonia, 226
Chance, Games of, forbidden, 128, 161
Charlemagne, Defeat of, at Roncesveaux, 353
Charles Martel appealed to by Count Eudes, 340
Charms, the last two suras, 167
Children by adoption, 160
China invaded by Jengis Khan, 440
Chosroes (Khosru, son of Kobad), wars with Maurice, 3; summoned to accept Islam, 173; palace of, at Medain, plan of Mansur to pillage, 358
Christianity, introduction of, 27; represented by the Western empire, 62; and Judaism, 62; Mohammed's views of, 129; and Islam compared, 135, 136; opposition of Mohammed to, 197; the tritheistic, of Arabia, 213; in Europe threatened by the Saracens, 336; the argument of Al Kindy for, 389
Christians, relation of Mohammed to, 134, 135; confer with Mohammed, 192; severe treatment of, at Jerusalem, 249; of Spain as described by Musa, 335; treatment of, in Spain by the Saracens, 336; and Jews persecuted by Motawakkel, 398
Chronology of the suras, 133, 443
Civilization, in the Mesopotamian region, 239; in Europe threatened by the Saracens, 336
Cloak, The, of Mohammed not honored, 422
Clubs for debate in time of Mamun, 385
Coinage, The first, of the Saracens, 318

Colossus, of Rhodes, Doubtful tradition regarding, 278
Commerce in early times, 8 ; by land, decline of, 25, 28
Companions of Mohammed, The preserve the koran, 224
Constantine VII. invades Asia Minor, 416
Constantinople, first attempt of the Saracens upon, 291 ; effort of Soliman against, 336 ; retreat of Hisham from, 345 ; campaign of Mehdi against, 363 ; saved from capture, in time of Harun, 373 ; war of Mamun with, 386 ; sends an embassy to Moktader, 416
Coptic maid Mary, wife of Mohammed, 190
Cordova, and other cities of Spain ravaged, 330 ; beginning of the Omiade kalifate at, 352
Creasy, Sir E., describes the battle of Tours, 344
Crusades, Origin of the, 433
"Cry, in the name of Allah," 74
Ctesiphon and Selucia, 227
Cursing, The ordeal of the, 193
Cyprus, attacked and made tributary, 268 ; Moawia, governor of, 278

D

Damascus, a move upon, 239 ; taken, 240 ; pomp of Moawia at, 308 ; Christians at, dispossessed of their church, 321 ; the great mosque at, 322 ; a revolt in, against Merwan II., 349 ; rival kalif at, in time of Mamun, 376 ; becomes capital of Tahir, 378 ; and other cities taken by the Tulunides, 406
Damiani's picture of paradise, 131
Damietta pillaged, 398
Daniel, Tomb of, preserved, 256
Darmsteter, James, "Le Mahdi," 414
Day, of Tears, the, 275 ; of the Camel, the, 277
Dead Sea, Mohammed journeys by the, 46
Debating clubs in time of Mamun, 385
Debaucheries of Montaser, 400
Decrees of Allah, The, 71, 72
Deputations, The year of, 192
Desvergers on the offer of Islam to the Koreishites, 32
Deutsch, Emanuel, on Arabian religion, 14 ; on the date of Mohammed's birth, 39 ; on the meaning of Islam, 66 ; on the word "cry," 74 ; and Müller on the prize poems of Okatz, 43 ; and Renan on the Hanifs, 52, 54
Dilemites (see Buvides), Rise of the, 426
Diodorus speaks of the sacred stone, 22
Disaffected, The, at Yathrib, 127
Discontent in Arabia after the death of Mohammed, 220
Dissatisfaction in the kalifate, 272
Ditch, Battle of the, 164
Diwan, a, organized by Omar, 245
Domestic life, Regulations regarding, 161
Dorylæum, Unsuccessful attack upon, 363
Dream, An opportune, 189
Dreams and visions in ancient and modern times, 102
Dugat, Gustave, on Islamite philosophy, 385
Dwellings, Privacy of, 162

E

Earnestness of Mohammed, 65
Eclipses ordered by Allah, 192
Efreet, The, 10
Egypt, summoned to accept Islam, 174 ; land communication with, established, 254 ; favors

Ali, 272, 273; rising in, against Ali, 282; continuation of the kalifate in, 441
Elephant, Host of the, 36
Elephants used by the Persians at Kadesia, 236
Elihu, the Buzite, on dreams, 102
Eliphaz, the Temanite, on dreams, 102
Emigrations to Abyssinia, The, 93
Enchantments, Faith in, 166
Enquiry, The spirit of religious, before Mohammed, 50, 51, 63
Enthusiasm, The, of Mohammed, 64
Epilepsy, The, of Mohammed, 205
Era, the Islamite, 120; established by Omar, 121, 260; difficulty of establishing an, 120;
"Eternal Reason, The," a book from Kabul, 384
Eudes, Count, meets the Saracens, 339, 340
Europe, overrun by hordes from Asia, 4; plan of the Saracens regarding, 332

F

Faber, Heavenly homesickness of, 131
Faction, Growth of, under Othman, 269
Fadhl, son of Sahl, minister under Mamun, 370, 378; political acts of, exposed to Mamun, 381; assassination of, 382
Faith, the, of Mohammed, 76, 78, 80; the implicit, of Islam undermined, 385; an unauthorized article of, 396
Faithful, Picture of the, by Mohammed, 135
Fall, The, of the empire, 4
False prophets rise, 203, 204
Families, The rival, in Islam, 264
Family of the Tent, the, 303
Farazdah, Period of, 320
Fatima and Ali married, 161; death of, 225
Fatimites, dynasty of, in Egypt, 312; rise in Africa, 413; end of dynasty of, 436
Ferdusi, the poet of Persia, 431
Feticism, of the Arabians, 15, 62; and paganism, 62
Fihl, movement against, 240; fall of, 241
Fihr, surnamed Koreish, 30
Filistin, or Palestine, Limits of, 246
Firdah, Battle of, 229
Fire-worship in Persia. 62
Foreigners, Influence of, 390
Forty Martyrs, Church of the, 387
Fostat (Cairo), Foundation of, 254
France, The Saracens enter, 338, 339
Franks, The, as described by Musa, 335
Freedom, The, of the Arabians, 43
Freeman, E. A., on the date of Mohammed's birth, 39; on Arabian freedom 44; on the condition of the East, 62; on the war between Rome and Persia, 179; on the opposition of Mohammed to Christianity, 197; on Mohammed's antagonism to truth, 212; on Mohammed's righteous intentions, 214; on the repulse of the Saracens by Leo III., 336
Freethinkers opposed by Motawakkel, 396
Free-will discussed by Wasil, 282

G

Gabriel gives directions about the Kaaba, 24; speaks to Mohammed, 72; frequent revelations from, 80; escorts Mohammed in a dream, 104; informs Mohammed of a plot of the Ko-

reishites, 117; gives aid at Bedr, 149; rescues Mohammed from enchantment, 167
Gadara, City of, 242
Games of chance forbidden, 161
Gaming, rebuked by Othman, 268; denounced by Motadi, 402; and wine-drinking, 63
Garden of Death, Battle of, 223
Gayangos, Translation of Makkari by, 335
Gaza visited by Abdalla, 38; Joppa and other cities captured, 246
Gaznivide dynasty, The, 430
Gaznivides, The, overcome by the Seljuks, 433
George Eliot, Aspirations of, 131, 132
Ghassan, Ruler of the tribe of, 179
Gibbon, Edward, on the strife between Rome and Persia, 3; on Heraclius and Chosroes, 4; "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," 332; describes the battle of Tours, 344; describes the iron gates of Kobad, 345
Gluttony of Omar II., 338
God, the idea of only one, 75; Mohammed's idea of, 213
Gospel, First preaching of the, 135
Government in Arabia, 33
Governors, The, of Othman, unpopular, 269; in France, character of, 340
Goths, The, invade Spain, 325
Greek fire used against the Moslems, 292, 336
Greek learning introduced extensively by Mamun, 388

H

Hafsa, widow of Mohammed, custodian of the koran, 224
Hagar in Arabia, 24, 28
Haj, The title, 31
Halima (pronounced Hah'-lima) becomes nurse of Mohammed, 41; remembered by Mohammed at his marriage, 58
Hamdan, surnamed Karmath, Sect of, 408
Hanifs, Speculations of the, 50, 52, 63
Hartama overcomes the Alyites, and is executed by Mamun, 379
Harun al Rashid (Haroun al Raschid), at the grave of Mansur, 360; receives his first lesson in war, 363; intended to be heir-apparent, 364; in fiction and real life, 367; sets out for Constantinople, 371; orthodoxy of, 372; sets out for Korassan, 373; death of, 373; plan of, to keep the balance between Persian and Arab influence, 375
Hasan (Hassan), son of Ali, leads the Kufans to take Ali's part, 276; kalif, 287
Hasan, a general of Yezid, 308; goes to Africa, 318
Hasan, governor of Persia, and his daughter Buran, 382, 383
Hashim, the kalif, see Hisham.
Hashim receives the rights of Kossai from Abd Menaf, 32
Hashimeya, residence of Mansur, 356
Hashimites, The, 264
Hashishim, chief of the Assassins, 433
Hate aroused at Mecca, 150
Heart, the, of Mohammed purified by Gabriel, 42
Heaven, seventh, dream of, 104
Hedi, death of, 365
Hejaj offers his services to Abd el Melik, 314; made governor of Irak, 316
Hejaz, land of pilgrimages, 7, 28; becomes the scene of action, 298; decline of importance of, under the Omiades, 288

Hejra (or Hegira), the, ordered, 116; era of, established, 121, 260; date of the, 121
Hell, Seven-fold divisions of, 20
Hems, see Homs.
Hera, the mountain near Mecca, 63
Heraclea, taken and retaken by Harun, 371; Mamun at, 387
Heraclius, emperor of the Eastern Empire, summoned to accept Islam, 174; said to have led an army against the Moslems, 179; determines to repel the Arabs, 230; at Homs, 243; flees to Constantinople, 244; death of, 254
Hercules, Saracens at the Pillars of, 324
Heresies from Persia in reign of Mehdi, 365
Heretics, Troubles of Hedi with, 365
Hesham, see Hisham.
Himyarites (Homerites), the dynasty of, 27
Hind, the Tearless One, wife of Abu Sofian, leads women against Medina, 154; anger and grief of, 150
Hira (Meshed Ali), capital of Irak, 60; site of, 228; taken by Kalid, 229; retaken, 235; Moslems obliged to retire from, 234
Hisham (Hashim or Hesham) becomes kalif, 339; death of, 346; beginning of the Motazilites in reign of, 282
Hamza converted, 89, 90
Homogeneity impossible to diverse Islamites, 424
Homs (Hems), ancient Emesa, 246; advance upon, 242; revolt at, 348; bloody scenes at, 400; taken by Ahmed, 406
Honein, victory at, 187; captives at, released, 189
Honesty, The, of Mohammed, 210
Hosein (Husain), son of Ali, goes against Constantinople, 292; refuses to take the oath of allegiance to Yezid, 296; claims the office of kalif, 296; at Kerbala, 301; death of, 303; importance of the death of, 308; tomb of, desecrated by Motawakkel, 398; tomb of, rebuilt by Montaser, 399
Hulaku (Hoolakoo), grandson of Jengis Khan, overthrows the Assassins and takes Bagdad, 441
Husbands and wives, rules affecting, 162; mutual duties of, 202

I

Iblis, rebellion of, 16; believed to have aided the Koreishites at Bedr, 151
Ibrahim, son of Mohammed, birth of, 190; death of, 192
Ibrahim, Accession and death of, 348
Ibrahim heads a rising at Merv, 350
Ibrahim, brother of Harun, 368
Ibrahim, son of Mehdi, made kalif in the place of Mamun, 380
Ibrahim, son of Aglab, at Kairwan, 407
Idolaters, not to be prayed for, 190; to be killed, 199
Idolatry, to be abolished, 75; boldly opposed by Mohammed, 83; stubbornness of, at Taif, 194; disappearing, 198
Idols, talk about the worship of, 46; destroyed, 184
Ignorance, The times of, 24
Ihram, the pilgrim-dress, 31
Imams, the twelve, 266
India, excitement in, during Moharrem, 304
Intrigues of the Abbassides, 349
Irak, expedition to, 60; and Mesopotamia, allegiance of,

62; of the Arabs and Irak of the Persians, 226
Ireland on the former notions regarding Mohammed, 210
Irene becomes ruler at Constantinople, 363
Isa, son of Mansur, nickname of, 360
Ishmael rebuilds the Kaaba, 24
Islam, professed in secrecy, 32; the house of, at Mecca, 35; interpretations of the word, 66, 80; not looked upon as a new religion, 81; preached everywhere by pilgrims, 88; debt of to Kadija, 96; successfully preached at Yathrib, 113; originality of, 129; original doctrines of, 130; duties of, 135; offered to the nations, 173; submission of many tribes to, 194; progress of, 198; perfected, 201; policy of, after the death of Mohammed, 217; indivisible, 221; not to be shaken off, 225; the great schism in, 308; a stroke at its foundation by Mamun, 384; and its prophet, assailed by Al Kindy, 389; "perfected" by Mohammed, 396; unexpected growth of, 423
Ismailians, The, under Babek, 391, 408
Isaphan mentioned, 256
Issa, see Jesus.

J

Jaafar, the Barmecide, comes to Mansur's court, 358; governs Syria, 368
Jacob, Dream of, 22
Janizaries, The, similar to the princes of princes, 429
Jealousy, forbidden to women, 162; of the prophet's wives for Mary the Copt, 190, 192
Jebilee, Visit of Benjamin to, 433
Jengis Khan, Rise of, in Tartary, 440
Jerir (Djerir or Dzherir), Period of, 320
Jerusalem Mohammed's dream-visit to, 106; the original kibla of Mohammed, 13, 139; beseiged, 246; capitulates, 248; made a resort for pilgrims, 312; mosque at, 321; visited by Mansur, 356; captured by the Seljuks, 433.
Jesus, as viewed by Mohammed, 193, 212
Jews, connection with Arabia, 6; relations of Mohammed with, at Yathrib, 127; relation of Mohammed with, 134, 135; refuse Islam, 152; importance of breaking down their power, 159; difficult to suppress, 165; enchantments practised by, 166; of Keibar attacked, 174; banished from their homes by Omar, 245; and Christians persecuted by Motawakkel, 398
Jinns, creation of, 15; belief in, 15, 62; evil doings of, 19; listen to Mohammed, 98
Job, dreams in the book of, 102
Joppa, Gaza, and other places captured, 246
Jordan (Ordonna), Province of, 246
Judaism, Mohammed's light from, 211
Julian, Count, commander of Ceuta, 325; urges the Saracens to conquest, 329
Julkarnein, the two-horned, 294
Jurists examined regarding the nature of the Koran, 385
Justinian urged to interfere in Arabia, 27

K

Kaaba, the, described, 24; threatened by Abraha, 36; fire in the, 66; the strength of the

worship of, 79; idols in, destroyed, 184; enlarged by Omar, 258; enlarged by Othman, 268; made a heap of ruins by Yezid's troops, 307; partial destruction of, 315; covering of, enriched by Mehdi, 361
Kabus (Cabus, Caboos) begins the line of the Dilemites, 426
Kadija (Chadijah, Khadijah, Ger. *Chadidscha*), engages Mohammed as director of caravans, 55; account of, 56; seeks Mohammed in marriage, 57; enquires the causes of Mohammed's accesses, 64; comforts Mohammed, 72, 95; dies, 96; Mohammed's pure love for, 133; and Waraka the first converts, 80
Kadar, Al, the blessed night, 71, 214
Kadesia, Battle of, 235, 236
Kaf, Mountain of, 15
Kaher placed on the throne, deposed, and replaced, 421, 425
Kahina, queen of the Berbers, captured and beheaded, 318
Kairwan, Foundation of, 294; Aglabites at, 407
Kalid retreats from Muta, 180; sent out by Abu Bekr, 222; effectual work of, 224; meets the Persians, 228; makes a pilgrimage to Mecca, 230; deprived of command, 232; Omar's alienation from, 252; death of, 252; and Amr converted, 177
Kalid, the Barmecide, becomes vizier to Mansur, 358; ensures the succession to Harun, 365
Kalif (Caliph, Calif), the title given to Ali, 83; choice of the first, 215, 216; mode of choosing, 263, 264; a puppet, 399, 427, 428; grandeur of the state of, in its decline, 437
Kalifate, increase of the, 288; changes in the, 297; greatness of, under Harun, 368; causes of, its downfall, 423; dismemberment of, 407, 428; end of the, 441
Kalifs, incapacity of the later, 424; deaths of the early, 272; changes in the character of, 308; luxury of the later, 424; in their decline, described, 436
Karejites, traits of, 281; put down by Ziyad, 290; zealots of, discuss the state of affairs, 285; devastate Irak, 310; stir up rebellion against Abd el Melik, 317; rise in time of Harun, 370
Kariba, Battle near, 277
Karmath, deemed similar to the chief of the Assassins, 433
Karmathians, rise of the, 408; attack the Meccan caravans, 411, 412; ravage Syria in time of Moktader, 420; ravages of, in time of Radi, 428
Kazars, The, come from beyond the Caucasus, 345; second invasion of, 346
Keibar, War with the Jews of, 174, 175
Kerbala, representations of the beauty of, 300; arrival of Hosein at, 301; mosque at, destroyed by Motawakkel, 398; sorrows of the martyr of, remembered, 442
Kibla, The national, established, 139
Kindy, Al, The apology of, 389
Kinnesrin (Kinnisrin), conquest of, 243; in charge of Kalid, 252; taken by the Tulunides, 406
Koba, the bright suburb of Mecca, 125, 126
Kobad, The iron gates of, 345
Koran (Alcoran, pronounced Kórän), the Arabian Bible, 13; versions of, 38, 224; the re-

corded knowledge of the new religion, 82; suras of the, 133; original of the, in paradise, 134; uncompromising spirit of the, 143; a possible intention to revise the, 206; ordinances of a temporary nature in, 212; the, Mohammed's only miracle, 213; to be obeyed in all its parts, 221, 222; danger of loss of the, 224; revision of the, 224, 263; purest teachings of, ignored, 233; skepticism regarding, in time of Mehdi, 365; power of the book, 379; not to be considerod an uncreated book, 384; opinions regarding, 385; the, assailed by Al Kindy, 389; nature of, the law regarding, 394, 395; the uncreated nature of, asserted by Motawakkel, 396; infractions of rules of, denounced, 402; the, not honored, 422

Korassan, raids into, 267; rebels against Abd el Melik, 316; revolt in, under Yezid II., 338; disturbances by the Alyites in, 348; the veiled prophet of, 362; rise of the Taherians in, 404; wrenched from the kalifate by Yakub, 405; conquered by the Samanades, 411; Seljuks in, 432

Koreishites, the, feasted by Abd al Muttalib, 40; naturally opposed to Mohammed, 79; receive the offer of Islam, 82; doubtful as to how they might best oppose Islam, 87; tempt Mohammed, 90; enquire about the men of Yathrib, 115; defeated at Bedr, 149, 151; aided by Iblis at Bedr, 151; discomfited at Medina, 165; suspicious of Mohammed, 169; treaty with, 173; permit the Moslems to enter Mecca, 175; decline of, 177; attack the Kozaites, 181; overcome, 183; traffickers, 186; growing antagonism to, 266

Koreitza, Jews of, vengeance upon, 165

Kossai, rise of, 30; descendants find rivals, 32

Kothan, the original name of the prophet, 40

Kozaites, The, injured by the Koreishites, 181

Kufa, site of, 228; founded, 238; appealed to by Ali, 275; becomes the capital of the kalifate under Ali, 278; calls Hosein, 298; grasped by Moktar, 311; strange sights in the palace at, 314; Hejaj at, 316; victory of the Alyites at, in time of Mamun, 378; and Bassora, troubles at, 260, 266, 267, 268

L

Lake, on the paroxysms of Mohammed, 64

Lane-Poole, Stanley, on secret assassination, 152; "Speeches of Mohammed," by, 224; his "Persian Miracle-Play," 304; "Story of the Moors in Spain," by, 332

Laodicea taken by assault, 243

Law, Lack of, at Medina, 152

Lent, The Arabian, 20, 63

Leo III. repulses the Saracens. 336

Leo of Thessalonica, War for possession of, 386

Letters in Arabia, 60; first cultivated by Ali, 287; cultivated under Harun, 368; under Mamun 388; under Wathek, 395; under Motawakkel, 398; under Radi, 427

Library, The, of Alexandria, 254

Lie, The first, in Islam, 275

Life of a man, Fine for the, 32, 33

Literature cultivated by Mehdi, 364, (see Letters)

Literature and theology at Kufa and Bassora, 238
Love, Law of, not understood by Christians, 211
Luxury, of the reign of Abd el Melik, 320; in time of Mamun, 388

M

Magians, The religion of, undermined, 322
Magreb, the western land, 10
Mahadi, founded by Obeidalla, south of Tunis, 416
Mahaffy, J. P., "Story of Alexander's Kingdom," by, 258
Mahdi, expectations of, by the Hanifs, 50, 63; looked for by men of Yathrib, 100; expected to return, 266, 311, 312, 414; spread of the belief in a, 414
Mahmud of Ghazni, conquests of, 431; his last hours, 431; builds a mosque and a library, 432
Mamun brought up at Merv, 256; governor of Korassan, 374; makes to himself friends at Merv, 375; becomes kalif, 377; resigns his power to Fadhl, 378; surrenders to the Alyite influence, 380; panic-stricken, 381; ghastly dissimulation of, 382; death of, in Cilicia, 387; career of 388; liberality of, 388; and Amin, war between, 376; and Motasim, germs of decay planted in reigns of, 423
Maniacs, Asylum for the, at Bagdad, 438
Mansur, designated as successor of Abbas, 354; besieged in his palace, 356; death of, 360; protests against the expectation of a Mahdi, 414
Marigny, "Histoire des Révolutions de l'empire des Arabes," 414
Marriage of Mamun and Buran, 383
Marriage and concubinage, 233
Mary, the Coptic wife of Mohammed, 190
Maslam, Battle at, 313
Maurice (emperor), wars with Chosroes, 3
Maurice, F. D., on Mohammed's idea of God, 213
Meal-sacks, Battle of the, 153
Mecca (Mekka, Mekkeh), position of, 27; growth of, under Kossai, 30; threatened by Abraha, 34; trusts in Allah, 36; deserted by the Moslems, 116; thrives after the hejra, 143; does not retaliate on Mohammed, 147; alarmed at the aggression of Mohammed, 148; obstruction of the approach to, 168; prepares an expedition against Medina, 164; an attack upon, 182; intrigues at, 274; stormed by Yezid's troops, 307; besieged by Hejaj, 315; pilgrimage to, by Mehdi, 361; and Medina, decline of importance of, under the Omiades, 288; cared for by Wathek, 395
Meccans forbidden to listen to Mohammed, 92
Medain, the Twin City, Site of, 227; capture of, by the Moslems, 238; plan of Mansur to destroy, 358
Medicine studied in time of Mamun, 388
Medina (see Yathrib), emigration of Islamites to, 116; situation of, 124; receives its name, 138; put in a state of siege, 164; a mob at, 189; deputations throng to, 194; sadness in, at the death of Mohammed, 215; conference of governors at, 270; men of, urge Ali as candidate for kalif, 273; and Mecca surrender to Moawia, 284

Meditation, The, of Mohammed in desert places, 68
Mehdi (Mahdee, Mahdy), becomes kalif, 360; character of, 360, 361; death of, 364
Melitene, advance of Mansur upon, 356; Theophilus at, 392
Mercy of Allah, Dependence of all upon the, 214
Merv (Merou), vicissitudes of, 256; conspirators at work at, 350
Merwan becomes kalif, 309
Merwan II., accession of, 348; flight of, 351; death of, 351
Meslim, son of Akba, at Medina, 306
Mesopotamia, region of, 227; overcome, 235
Meyfart, Heavenly home-sickness of, 131
Military spirit, The, perpetuated by the diwan, 245
Milman, Dean, on the burning of the library of Alexandria, 254
Mina, Valley of, 198
Ministers of the kalifs, overthrow their masters, 424; made autocratic by Radi, 426
Miracle, A, demanded of Mohammed, 92
Miracle-Play, The, of Persia, 304
Miracles not depended upon by Mohammed, 213
Moawia (spelled also Muavia, Muaweiah, Moaweeyah, Moawiyah, etc.), made governor of Syria, 253; stirs up strife in Syria, 274; character of, 278; ruse of, at Siffin, 281; declared kalif by a board of arbitrators, 281; wounded by a Karejite, 284; becomes kalif on the resignation of Hasan, 287; visits Medina and Mecca in behalf of Yezid, 296; death of, 296, 297
Moawia II. ascends the throne, 308; abdicates and dies, 309
Mob, A, at Medina, 189
Moez, the Fatimite, gives his pedigree, 413, 414
Mohammed (Mahomet, Muhammad, etc.), opposed by the Koreishites, 34, 88, 97; born, 39; infancy of, 41; youth of, 43; goes to Syria, 44; proud of the union for peace, 49; solitary youth of, 54; goes to Syria with caravans, 55; personal appearance of, 55; married happiness of, 59; influence of wealth upon, 60; health of, 64; under an unnatural mental strain, 64; in earnest for the good of others, 65; prestige of, increased, 66; hears voices, 63; perplexed, 74, 75; contemplates suicide, 75; exultant, 76; the sublime faith of, 78, 80; scorned, 83; boldly opposes idolatry, 83; repulses the blind man, 86; insulted, 89; tempted by the Koreishites, 90, 91; refuses to try to compass a miracle, 92; under the ban, 94; and the Hashimites shut up in the sheb of Abu Talib, 94; goes on a mission to Taif, 97; preaches to the jinns, 98; looks for disciples at Yathrib, 100; lays stress on dreams, 103; seeks a temporal kingdom, 111; less aggressive, 112; demands of, at the second meeting at Akaba, 115; persecuted by the Koreishites, 116; informed of a plot, 117; leaves Mecca, 117, 118, 122; arrives at Yathrib, 125; commands abstinence from wine, 128; view of Allah, 129; not a sensuous man, 132; first effort, 133; simple home life, 141; unsheathes the sword, 142; use of the sword by, 144; tempted by the Meccan caravans, 144; attacks caravans, 146; a triumphant chieftain, 153; not an ascetic,

153; arms himself, 154, 155; reported slain at Ohud, 157; sagacious action of, after Ohud, 158; exults over the Jews, 159; wives of, 160; opinion of Ali, 161; apartments of, rules in regard to, 162; irritated by being shut out of Mecca, 168; fortifies Medina, 164; determines to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, 169; respect paid to, by his disciples, 172; causes a signet ring to be engraved, 173; sends messages to crowned heads, 173; performs the pilgrimage to Mecca, 175, 176; watches the struggle between Rome and Persia, 179; arranges to attack Mecca, 182; enters Mecca in triumph, peacefully, 184; humanity of, on capturing Mecca, 184, 185; mobbed at Medina, 189; resignation of, at the time of Ibrahim's death, 192; king and priest, 200; growing old, 200; last pilgrimage of, 201; last address of, 202; last days of, 205, 207; inconsistencies of, 211; might have been a Christian missionary, 212; teachings of, 208–213; declares himself no more than man, 215; burial of, 217; intention to revise the Koran, 263; signet of, lost by Othman, 269; plenary indulgence offered by, to those who would go against Constantinople, 292; acquainted with the heresies of later days, 395; promised a Mahdi, 411; cloak of, not honored, 422

Mohammed al Mehdi, Expected return of, 266

Mohammed, son of Abu Bekr, made governor of Egypt, 282; burned alive, 282

Mohammed, son of Zeid, a rival of Motamed, 406

Moharrem, tenth of, 302; sorrow in, 442

Mokanna, the Veiled Prophet of Korassan, 362, 363

Moktar declares himself the promised Mahdi, 311

Moktafi becomes kalif, 410

Moktader becomes kalif, 412; character of, 413; astonishes two ambassadors from Zoe, 418, 420; deposed, 421; replaced on the throne, 421; assassinated, 422

Moktar, defeat of, 414

Money first coined by the kalifs, 318

Montaser becomes kalif, 399

"Moors in Spain, Story of the," 332

Morals, Decay of, in the time of Mamun, 386

Moslem (Muslim), meaning of the word, 66, 80; picture of the true, 135

Moslems, changes in the, 233; total estimated number of, 407

Mosque, the, erected at Medina, 138; busy life in, 194; at Jerusalem, founded by Omar, 251

"Mosque, Studies in a," by Stanley Lane-Poole, 304

Mosques, gatherings in, on Fridays, 130

Mostain becomes kalif, 400; assassinated, 402

Motaded, accession of, 407; arrests the progress of the Karmathians, 408

Motadi set up by the Turks, 402; assassinated, 403, 405

Motamed placed on the throne by the Turks, 405; death of, 407

Motanna at Boweib, 235

Motasim, brother of Mamun, counselled for good, 387; becomes kalif, 390

Motawakkel (Motawukkel) be-

comes kalif, by grace of the Turks, 396
Motaz proclaimed kalif, 402
Mosul threatened by the Kazars, 345
Motazilites, an offshoot of the Shias, 282
Mother, Mohammed's direction regarding, 208
Mother of the faithful, Title of, 162
Muajerin, the emigrants from Mecca, 127, 142
Muezzin, daily cry of the, 110; call to prayer, the, 140; the, calls the faithful to prayer at Mecca, 184
Muir, Sir William, on the expectations of the Hanifs, 51; on the opposition of the Koreishites, 79; on the offer of Islam to the Koreishites, 82; account of Boweib, 235; does not accept the siege of Bostra as a fact, 231; on the Moslem era, 260; "Early Kalifate," 300; edition of the "Apology of Al Kindy," 389
Müller, August, on the date of Mohammed's birth, 39; on the meaning of Abu Bekr, 100; on the date of the Hejra, 121; and Deutsch on the prize poems of Okatz, 48
Munkir and Nakir, Offices of, 17
Musa, sent into Africa, 324; returns to Damascus, 332; makes a magnificent plan regarding Europe, 332; fate of, 334, 335
Musa, Ali ben, see Ali ben Musa, 381
Musab, governor of Bassora, 311; slain, 313
Muselima, a rival of Mohammed, 203; career and death of, 223
Muslim, founder of the Abbasside dynasty, 350–354; assassination of, 355; reminiscence of, 362
Mussab, preacher of Islam, at Yathrib, 113
Muta, messenger of Mohammed executed at, 179
Mutaim protects Mohammed, 99
Mystery of Arabia, 2

N

Nadhir, The, subjection of, 159
Nakir and Munkir, Offices of, 17
Nakla, Pillage at, 147
Name of Mohammed, The, 40
Narbonne, Siege of, 339
Nations, The, summoned to accept Islam, 173
Nehrwan, Karejites overcome by Ali at, 282
Nejd, Jews in, 159; offers prayers but not tribute, 221
Nevahend, battle of, 256
Nicæa threatened by Hisham, 345
Nicephorus insults Harun, 370; forced to keep peace, 373
Night of clangor at Kadesia, 238
Nights, The Thousand and One, 366, 370
Nisibis, Battle at, between Abdalla and Muslim, 355
Noman, governor of Kufa, 300

O

Oath of Akaba, the first, 100; the second, 115
Obeidalla, the Alyite, asserts himself, 414, 416
Obeidolla, son of Ziyad, brought forward, 291
Octave, The, a name for Motasim, 394
Offices, trouble about, under Ali, 273
Ohud, three miles from Medina, battle at, 154–157; description of, 156
Okatz, Fair at, 47
Okba, conquests of, in Africa, 294

Old Man of the Mountains, The, chief of the Assassins, 433, 434
Oliphant, Laurence, on the Yermuk gorge, 230
Omar (Umar, Omer, Oomur, etc.), conversion of, 93; receives a sharp word from Mohammed, 196; will not think the prophet dead, 215; claims of, upon the kalifate, 219; chosen kalif, 232; force of character of, 234; journeys to Jerusalem, 248; habits of, 249; mosque of, 251; returns to Medina, 251; cautious about advancing on Persia, 256; adorns Mecca, 258; assassination of, 260, 261; dying bequest of, 261; simplicity of, 308
Omar II. becomes kalif, 337
Omia (spelled also Umeyyah, Ommeyyah, etc.) opposes Hashim, 32
Omiades (spelled also Ommaïades, Ommeyyads, etc.), the, at the death of Omar, 264; dynasty of, begun, 288; chased from Medina, 306; Damascus loyal to the, 309; greatest glory of, 321; greatest dominions of, 333; cause of the, lost, 351
Omm Selma (widow of Mohammed) invited to oppose Ali, 275
Ordeals, Absurd, in late times, 194
Ordonna, Province of, 246
Orthodoxy encouraged by Motawakkel, 396
Osama sent into Roman territory, 204; sent on an expedition of vengeance, 217, 221
Osborne, "Islam under the Khalifs," 398
Othman (Ibn Affan) (Osman, Ottoman), claims of, upon the kalifate, 219; chosen kalif, 264; traits of, 266; nepotism of, 268; loses Mohammed's signet, 269; indecision of, 269; insulted in the pulpit, 270; assassination of, 271; death of, to be revenged, 274
Oxus, the, crossed, 322

P

Pageant, An Oriental, at time of Moktader, 418
Palestine, operations in, 238; province of, 246; rising in, 348
Palmer, E. H., on the date of Mohammed's birth, 39; on Islam, 129; version of the Koran, 224
Palmyra, see Tadmor
Paradise, ideas of, 19; offered to the faithful, 95; Mohammed's vision of, 105; the, of Islam, 130; the earthly, in which Hashishim was supposed to live, 434
Parties, the, at Yathrib, 127; in Islam, 264
Pater Noster, The Arabian, 64
Peace, union for, 49
Peacock of the angels, The, 16
Pelly's "Miracle-Play," 300
People of the Book, The, at Yathrib, 128; the, driven out, 159
Persecution of Mohammed, 116; of those who adhered to orthodoxy, 390; of Christians and Moslems by Wathek, 395; of Jews and Christians by Motawakkel, 398; put an end to by Montaser, 399
Persia, Arabian expedition to, 60; Islam in, 220; Omar cautious about advancing on, 256; Western, conquered, 258; rebellions in, 267; heresies from, 365; influence of, in time of Mamun, 383, 384; disorders in, in time of Mostanjed, 436
Persia and Rome, the two prominent powers, strife between,

3, 60; struggle between, watched by Mohammed, 179
Persian influence of the Barmecides, 372
Persian influence, jealousy against, 375; increase of, 378
Persian Passion-Play, The, 304
Persians defeated at Boweib, 235
Philosopher, War for a, 386
Pilgrimage, ceremonies of the, 31; changes in the ceremonial of, under Othman, 268; a luxurious, 361; the last, of Mohammed, 201
Pilgrimages, pecuniary interest in the, 79; re-established by Montaser, 399
Pilgrims at Mecca in early times, 23
Plague in Syria at time of Omar, 252
Pledge of the tree, The, 172
Pocock denies the hanging up of poems at Okatz, 47
Poems, The prize, of Okatz, 47
Poitiers, Battle of, 341
Political intrigues at Kufa and Bassora, 238
Polygamy, the, of the prophet, 100; of Islam, 129; a blot on Islam, 211, 212; Freeman upon, 233
Prætorians, The, in Rome, 429
Prayer, duty of, 135; position in, 138; the call to, established, 140; no true religion without, 195; not accepted without tribute, 221
Prayers, Number of, prescribed, 108
Price, "History of Arabia," by, 294
Princes of princes made autocratic by Radi, 426
Prophecy, The seal of, 42
Prophets before Mohammed, their fate, 112; the six, 134; of Allah, different offices of, 143

R

Rabbis, Paradise of the, 132
Radi (Raddy, Radhi), the last of the real kalifs, 426; poem by, 427
Rakka becomes the seat of Harun, 373
Ramadan, the month of fasting and prayer, 20; mode in which Mohammed observed it, 63, 68, 71; the time of fasting, 76
Rationalism, The, of Persia, 384
Rawendites, Rise of the, 356
Readers, Loss of many, 223
"Reason, The Eternal," a book from Kabul, 384
Reform, A radical, in Arabia, 129
Reforms, The, of Mohammed, 212; of Motadi, 403
Rei (Rai, Rhe, Rye), battle at, 258; battle at, between Amin and Mamun, 376
Relationship, Change in legislation regarding, 160
Release, Proclamation of, 199
Religion, of the early Arabs, 14, 16, 62; systems of false, 78
Religionists, False, put down by Medhi, 364
Resurrection, uncertain faith in, 63; doctrine of the, 130
Revelation *vs.* reason, 384
Revelations, the three, 134; the "convenient," of Mohammed, 210, 214
Revolutions in time of Mostain, 401; in time of Moktader, 413
Rhapsodies, The, of Mohammed, 64, 65
Rhodes taken by Moawia, 278
Richness and weakness of the kalifate, 425
Ring, the, of Mohammed, engraved, 173; lost by Othman, 269
River of Blood, Battle of the, 229

Roderick, the ruler of the Goths, 325 ; death of, 329
Rodwell, Rev. J. M., arrangement of the suras by, 133 ; version of the Koran, 224
Romance, An era of, 366
Romans, said to be about to attack the Moslems, 195 ; in Syria, campaign against, 230 ; make an effort to drive the Arabs from Syria, 252 ; beaten off Alexandria, 268
Rome, changes in, 3 ; sends an army to Arabia, 26; controls Syria, 178 ; and Persia, the two prominent powers, 3, 60

S

Saba, Situation of, 10
Sabbath, none in Islam, 130
Sabians, The Abrahamitic, 10, 54
Sacred month, Caravans attacked in, 147
Sacrilegious act, A, 147
Sacrilegious war, The, 48
Safa and Marwa, The hills, 31
Saladin, son of Ayub, the beau ideal of Saracenic chivalry, 436
Sale, George, translator of the Koran, on Antichrist, 197
Samana allies himself with Motaded, 408
Samanades, the rise of, 408 ; victory of, over Amr, 409 ; great domain of, 411
Samarkand, science and letters at, 256 ; centre of commerce and learning, 291 ; siege of, 322 ; elegance of, 322 ; Seljuks at, 432 ; taken by Jengis Khan, 440
Samarra, becomes the home of Motasim, 390 ; scramble for spoils at, 401
Sara sends information to Mecca, 182
Saracens, the terror of, 324 ; greatness of domain of, 333 ; confidence of, in France, 341 ; defeated at Tours, 342 ; retreat from Spain, 344 ; end of their career of conquest, 347 ; threaten Irene at Constantinople, 364 ; lose enthusiasm for war, 401
Sardinia ravaged, 322
Sassanidæ, Dynasty of the, 62
Scheherazade, Tales of, 366
Schism, The, in Islam, 308
Scinde overrun, 322
Scholars, opinion of Mamun regarding, 388
Schuyler's "Turkistan," 322, 424 ;
Scriptural people, The, 6
Second of the Two, The, 118
Sectaries, the, 308 ; of Islam, 264 ; a proof of its truth, 135
Seljuks, take possession of Merv, 256 ; at Bagdad, 430 ; rise of the, 432 ; division of empire of, 436
Sell, Edward, "The Faith of Islam," by, 396
Selucia and Ctesiphon, 227
Semitic idea of the government of the universe, 54
Sensuality of the paradise of Islam, 132
Seth builds the Kaaba, 24
Sheb, The, of Abu Talib, 94
Sheba, The queen of, visits Solomon, 10
She-camel, The, of the Koran, 46
Shehib leads the Karejites, 317
Shias, the sect of, 266 ; in Persia, 220 ; origin of, 308 ; proportion of in Islam, 407
Sicily, ravaged, 322 ; ravaged by the Alyites, 416
Siffin, Battle of, 279, 280
Simplicity, the, of the Moslems, lost, 297, 308 ; departure from, by Walid, 321
Sincerity of Mohammed, 212
Skepticism, in time of Mehdi, 365 ; of Mamun, 385
Slanderer, Sura of the, 68, 70

Slavery in Islam, 211
Soffarides, The, rise of, 404, 405; acknowledged by Mohammed, 405; gains of, 406; extinction of, 410
Soliman (Suleiman, Solyman, Sooleyman), leads the Karejites, 310; his dealings with Musa, 334, 335; death of, 337
Solitude, The, of Mohammed, 54
Solomon, wondrous tales of, 13; seal-ring of, 18; example of, in prayer, 138; table of, 330
Son and mother, Relations of, 208
Sonnites, The, of the present time, 220; the sect of, 264, 266; origin of, 308
Spain, attractions of, to the Saracens, 326; complete conquest of, 333; government of the Saracens in, 336; progress of the Saracens in, 338; discord in, 348
Spells, Faith in, 166
Spoil, Law regarding the division of, 149; from the Jews, 175; the, at Honein, 190; at Damascus, 240; systematic distribution of, ordered by Omar, 245
Spoils, Scramble for, at Samarra, 401
Sprenger on Mohammed's "epileptic fits," 64
Stone, the sacred white, of the Kaaba, 22; replaced in the Kaaba by Mohammed, 66
Strabo visits Arabia and brings information about it, 27
Strategy of Mohammed, 165
Sultan, title first assumed by Mahmud, 432
Sura, Meaning of, 13
Suras, Differing length of the, 133
Sus (Shushan) taken, 256
Sword, The unsheathed, 142, 199
Syria, government of, 62; summoned to accept Islam, 174; an expedition to, 195, 196; conquered, 232, 241; divisions of, 246; total conquest of, 252; lost to Ali, 281, 282; desolated by Theophilus, 392; invaded by the Tulunides, 406; ravaged by the Karmathians in time of Moktader, 420

T

Tabari, on the number of the friends of Othman's memory, 279; neglects the siege of Constantinople, 292
Tabaristan lost to the kalifate, 401
Tabuk, Council of war at, 196
Tadmor (Palmyra) taken by Kalid, 231
Taherians, Rise of, 404
Tahir, the Persian, attacks Bagdad, 376
Taif, jealous of Mecca, 35; new buildings at, 60; Mohammed goes on a mission to, 97; rejects Mohammed, 98; idolatry at, 186; siege of, 188, 195; Hejaj rests at, 315; and Mecca, commerce at, 144, 146
Talha, presented as candidate for kalif, 272; and Zobeir swear allegiance to Ali, 273
Tamerlane, Tomb of, at Samarkand, 291
Tarif, leader of an invasion into Spain, 326; and Tarik, confusion of the names, 328
Tarik ben Zeyad receives an offer from Julian, 326; invades Spain, 328; career of in Spain, 330; returns to Damascus, 332
Tarsus, Mamun at, 386; arrest of progress of Ahmed at, 406
Tears, The Day of, 275
Teheran conquered, 258
Temperance, see Abstinence.

Tent, Family of the, 303
Thamud, Caves of the children of, 40
Theophilus, emperor, refuses to resign Leo, 387; begins a war with Motasim, 392
Thinkers and their thoughts, 214
Thought, Genesis of, 214
Togrul Beg enters Bagdad and makes himself Prince of Princes, 433
Toleration in time of Mamun, 389; discussion of, in time of Wathek, 395
Tours attacked by Abd er Rahman, 340; battle of, 341
Traders between Arabia and Palestine, 25
Traditionists, a name for the Sonnites, 308
Traffic increases at Mecca, 143; not to interfere with devotion, 199
Trances, The, of Mohammed, 64
Treason in the days of Othman, 270
Tree, pledge of the, 172; the oath under, 219
Tribute, demanded of Christians, 194; must be given, 221; opinion of Omar regarding, 254
Trinity, Mohammed's view of, 129; discussion regarding, 192, 193
Truce of God, The, 48
Trusty, The sobriquet of Mohammed, 55, 66
Tuleya, a rival of Mohammed in Nejd, 203
Tulun, founder of the Tulunides, 406
Tulunides, The rise of, 406; overthrow of dynasty of, 412
Turkestan, hordes growing strong in, 4; raids into, 267; rise of the Seljuks in, 432
Turkish body-guard, the, of Motasim, 390; the, increasing in power, 411; supremacy of the, 429
Turkish empire, rise of the, 433
Turks, troubles with, at time of Othman, 267; pushed from Korassan by Obeidolla, 291; influence of, 394; almost complete masters, 396; efforts to restrict their power, 399; jealousy among the, 401; powers of increase, 402; tighten their grip, 422

U

Unbelievers, threatened, 113; to be swept from the earth, 200
Union for peace, 49
Unity, The, of God, as presented by Mohammed, 211; of the religion of Islam, 263

V

Vámbéry, "History of Bokhara," 410, 432, 440
Veil, Use of the, 161
Vengeance, Private, not allowed during the sacred month, 48
Victory, in battle the criterion of truth, 151; a constructive, 173; chapter of the, 173
Vision of the jinns, 99; the, of Mohammed, 110
Voices heard by Mohammed, 68, 72

W

Wacusa, Battle of, 231, 234
Wady defined, 7
Walid, grandeur of his reign, 320; throws Tarik into prison, 330; death of, 333
Walid II., accession of, 346; character of, 347
Wall, The great, of China, scaled by Jengis Khan, 440
War, deprecated by the men of Yathrib, 89; in Islam to continue till Antichrist come, 197; as used by despots, 226

Waraka, the Hanif, speculations of, 50, 52, 63 ; the most learned man of his time, 63 ; approves Mohammed, 72, 80 ; and Kadija, the first converts, 80
Warfare, Aggressive, thought necessary by Mohammed, 142
Wars, Foreign, of Omar and Othman, 266
Wasil ben Ata founds the order of Motazilites, 282
Wasit, foundation of, by Hejaj, 316 ; Mostain assassinated at, 402 ; defeat of Yakub near, 405
Wassif, the Turk, assassinates Motawakkel, 399 ; bargains with Mostain, 400
Wathek (Vathek) becomes kalif, 394
Weakness, an element of, introduced by Motasim, 394 ; of the kalifate, 425
Wealth, influence of, on Mohammed, 62 ; not to be preferred to the faith, 199
Wedding, The gorgeous, of Mamun, 383
Weil, August, on Islam, 136 ; on ordinances of the Koran, 212
Widows elevated, 210
Wine, use of, 63 ; abstinence from, first recommended, then commanded, 128 ; prohibition of, 137, 161 ; not to be sold by Christians at Jerusalem, 250 ; drunk in opposition to the law of Mohammed, 308 ; drinking of, by Walid II., 347 ; by Harun, 372 ; misuse of, by Motawakkel, 396 ; denounced by Motadi, 402
Witches, persecutions of, 167
Witica, king of the Goths, 325
Wives, numbers of, 63 ; Mohammed's treatment of, 130 ; four allowed by Mohammed, 132 ; the, of the prophet, 160 ; apartments of, 141 ; forbidden to be jealous, 162, 192 ; limit of the number of, 162 ; the, of Mohammed, number uncertain, 201 ; difference between one and two, 233 ; and husbands, mutual duties of, 202
Woman, Mohammed's treatment of, 130
Women, kindle fury at Mecca, 154 ; of Mecca at the battle of Ohud, 156 ; the four perfect, 161 ; and children, delight of, 136
Wright, "Early Travels," 438

X

Xeres, Battle of, 329

Y

Yahya, son of Kalid, encourages trade, 368
Yakub, chief of the Soffarides, 404, 405 ; takes Korassan, 405
Yathrib (see Medina), counsels peace, 89 ; parties at, 127 ; pilgrims from, look for the Mahdi, 100
Year of Ashes, The, 252
Year of the Elephant, 38
Yemen, the home of mythical Joktan, 8; under Persian influence, 62 ; tribes of, summoned to accept Islam, 174 ; slaughter in, by Moawia, 284 ; access to, improved by Mehdi, 362
Yermuk, Victory on the, 231, 234
Yezdigerd, Fall of, 256, 258
Yezid (Yazid) destined to become successor of Moawia, 291, 295 ; character of, 291, 295 ; makes changes in the kalifate, 297 ; prepares to oppose Hosein, 301 ; cast off at Medina, 306 ; death of, 307 ; luxury of, 308
Yezid II. becomes kalif, 338
Yezid III., Accession of, 347

Z

Zab, Decisive battle on the, 351
Zeinab, Mohammed enamoured of, 160
Zem-Zem, The waters of, 24
Zeyd, the Koreishite, longs for a pure religion, 51
Zeyd, Mohammed's freedman, accepts Islam, 81; divorces Zeinab, 160; name of, in the Koran, 161; commands an army against the Romans, 179; killed at Muta, 180
Ziyad won over by Moawia, 290
Zobeir presented as candidate for kalif, 272; and Talha claim office under Ali, 274
Zoe influences Constantine VII. against the Saracens, 416
Zoroastrianism fire-worship in Persia, 62

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